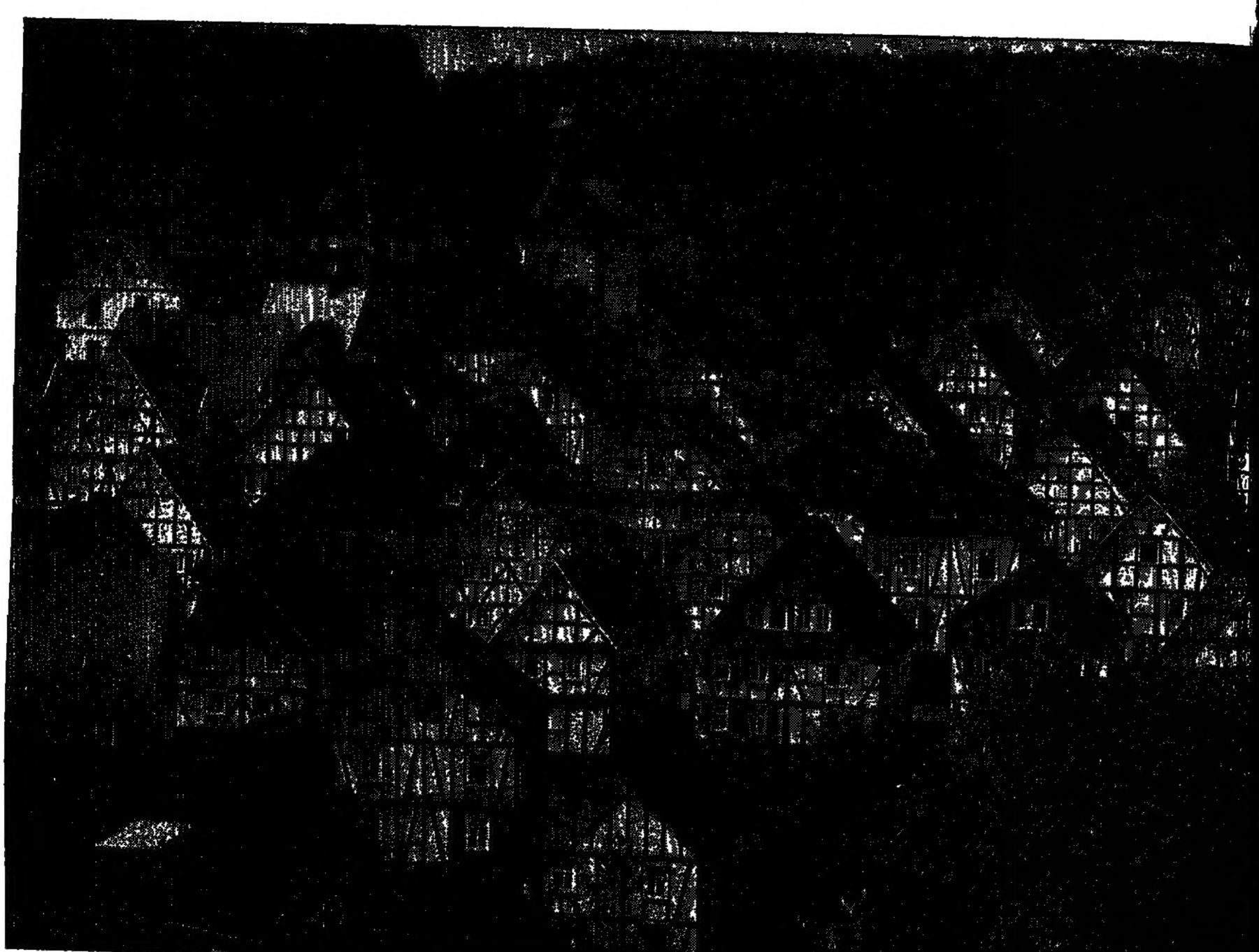
# Germany's towns and cities

Let's take Bremen: both city and port where, however, in the Schnoor district, picturesque alleys, once the home of medleval craftsmen, and 500-year-old gabled houses are to be found. Or the small township of Münzenberg in Hesse, with its castle. Or Fritzlar, with half-timbered buildings. alcoves, fountains and lanes dating

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from times when people still went on foot or rode in mail-coaches. Great cities, but also fairytale-like towns no larger than a football pitch. Then again, the modern aspect as in West Berlin's Märkisches Viertel or Hansa-Viertel. created by famous architects from all over the world. A journey through Germany's towns and

cities is like a study trip, exciting and amusing. Just think of all th restaurants offering special di and the many small taverns on nearly every corner!





Freudenberg

Berlin

DEUTSCHEZENTA FÜR TOURISMUS EV

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November 1981 Year - No. 1014 - By air

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A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C ISSN 0016-8858

Kremlin chief comes to see how the land lies

Breznev pald Bonn his third ks than a decade. His previous min 1973 and 1978.

as a visionary, inviting the stodo business in Siberia.

there were two Germanies he the prospect of contracts that manentire generations.

878 Mr Brezhnev, an older and min, sought support for his wing Westpolitik.

Ailed time round Bonn was the Mem capital to host the Soviet hade the Red Army invaded

my respects Mr Brezhnev's Bonn salmed at public opinion in the a whole, at Western governand Western peace movements.

shifts aging head of state and eren at this time of the year. a sign of strength or weakness Soriet Union's part?

why was Bonn given the honour presence? Was it its specific firmly anchored, in the Wost? Or loscow. hoping Bonn might part with the West?

ederal Republic of Germany alland where new medium-runge tiles are, by the terms of the De-11979 Nato resolution, to be stu-Thegotiations fail.

has also been manoeuvred into position by contradictory from the Roagan administru-

Amore often the abstruse and seclineconcilable pronouncements of House, the State Department A Pentagon worry and upset Wespuope, the more often America's Anthers in Brussels will look to to see how it assesses the situa-

in the military debate between Perpowers Bonn has assumed an role as a result of the long of Washington from world

Alwiet Union is merely being true additions by double dealing with a I that has come to be the major Too both superpowers.

Pkremiin would like Bonn both to ompany with the United States

way for responsible activity, yet for months opinion-makers in this country have stirred up artificial hysteria

for peace and security jeopardise the Western alliance.

The Cold War, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung sadly recalled, had at what was being said and to think and

Others feel Mr Brezhnev is alone in worrying about peace being in danger and, like Rudolf Augstein, the proprietor of Der Spiegel, the Hamburg news weekly, would like to see the West make unilateral concessions as a token of good day, he wrote,

Bonn has benefited more than most from the policy of detente, so much so that it can no longer afford to make further unilateral concessions.

A mere 13 years ago Bonn's non-acceptance of the GDR blocked talks with Moscow and threatened to isolate the Federal Republic in a West that was otherwise predisposed towards detente.

Only a few years later none other Helmut Schmidt warned United States not to place inordinately naive hopes in detente.

It was at the Munich conference on military affairs in 1971. As Defence Minister in Bonn he was critical of cuts in US defence spending and the abolition of conscription.

Bonn's role increased in importance as the Americans were steadily more disappointed and the Russians proved steadily more deceitful.

Moscow ruthlessly exploited each and every weakness on Washington's part but was caught, in the process, in a di-

to which it was subjected, world's hot spots.

Bonn's moderating influence on international affairs peak in 1980, when Helmut Schmidt's visit to Moscow got the superpowers back on the speaking

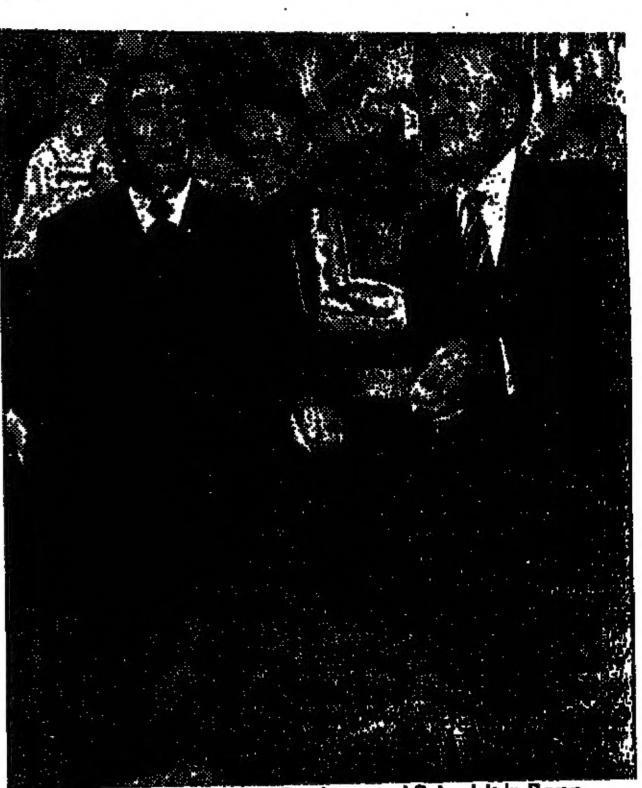
Nato's deploy-and-negotiate resolu-tion, previously an obstacle to talks, pro-

WORLD AFFAIRS Nuclear war: can it and a white through be limited? a marke girth with

Page THE WELFARE STATE Bismarck gets ball rolling and steals march on socialists

so far lonly leverage for negotiations. So faor Bonn and its the comment made by Mr Allen, President Reagan's national security adviser, cannot be endorsed. Detente, he said, had been complete failure. In the European view such funeral dirges what William Pfall wrote in the Herald Tribune. Nato to-

Continued on page 2



A lot to talk about . . . Brezhnev and Schmidt in Bonn.

## Reagan deal strengthens Schmidt's hand

than to imagine that President Re-Russians might change the world over night. There is certainly no way in which they will alleviate European nuclear an-

Yet the President's proposals, and his declaration of readiness to reduce to zero if possible the number of medium-range missiles based by both sides in Europe, mark a new quality in the security and

peace debate. In the wake of a number of confusing comments by high-ranking US officials, including Mr Reagan himself, about a nuclear warning shot or a limited nuclear strike an entirely different President

He has called on world opinion to witness his commitment to disarmament as his policy aim, and in so doing h has done more than just clarify matters. It is now up to Mr Brezhnev to say

what he really wants. It is no surprise that Moscow has chosen to dismiss the US offer with alacrity as a mere propaganda trick and to insinuate that the Americans want to establish nuclear supremacy by the back

door, as it were.

THE ENVIRONMENT Trying to make the inner. city come to life again Historians 'wrong' about doom of the Nibelungs Therapy instead of jail basis of new drug law Mr Brezhnev flew to Bonn with mixed feelings as a result.

He already knew what President Reagan had in mind from what the President had previously proposed to him in writing. But now the world at large knew what Mr Reagan had suggested and would be expecting Mr Brezhnev to outline in detail in his talks with Herr Schmidt what

he had to say in reply. By virtue of President Reagan's proposals Chancellor Schmidt was able to enter into talks with the Soviet leader

greatly strengthened. His hand was also strengthened in dealing with fellow-Social Democrats and non-SPD members of the peace movement who saw disarmament salvation in unilateral Western moves: a zero option that would be nothing of the kind.

The zero option Washington and Bonn have in mind would entail the West abandoning missile modernisation using new US devices on condition that the Soviet Union scrapped its SS-20 missiles aimed at targets in Western Eu-

This, one is bound to admit, would be an ideal solution it will be difficult to accomplish. The Soviet Union envisages a zero at an entirely different point.

Moscow would like at all cost to retain the arms build-up it has already undertaken, but at the Geneva conference table it will have to be cards down at some stage or other.

In many ways the cards are aiready on the table, with President Reagan having led his highest trump. Hans Stollhans

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 20 November 1981)

#### \_3ar war: can it be limited?

Could nuclear war be limited, say to Europe? America and Russia disagree. President Reagan says he could imagine the two sides being deterred from launching a full-scale strategic nuclear attack if tactical theatre nuclear weapons had aiready been used. President Brezhnev says there can be no 'limited' nuclear war. Once nuclear hostilities begin, in Europe or elsewhere, the war would inevitably, irrevocably assume a worldwide character. Four-star General Gerd Schmückle, deputy supreme commander of Nato until last year, here gives Welt am Sonntag his views on the subject.

D oth heads of government are right in their own way, I believe. Mr Brezhnev was talking in terms of deterrence, which naturally includes all options, up to and including the hydrogen bomb, as a means of preventing

Mr Reagan was referring to the possibility of the deterrent failing to deter, in which case nuclear hostilities ought to be brought to a halt at the lowest poss-

America has succeeded in reverting to a global strategy, whereas Nato strategy is geographically limited. It remains to be seen what influence global strategy will have on Nato strategy and vice-ver-

There is no reason why people should be alarmed by this state of affairs, although it would naturally be better if Nato were to join in the debate.

Contradictory though US statements may seem to be, they are no less contradictory than comments by German politicians must seem to be from an American point of view.

The strategy of massive retaliation was a unique period in the history of Nato. but is now history.

was very good for Europe, being based on global US nuclear supremacy. But this supremacy no longer exists and. in my opinion, it has gone for good.

The nuclear threshold was very, very low. I cannot imagine future strategy ever reaching such a low threshold.

Setting up the range of deterrence is a tough, complex, ongoing task at which we must persevere. Let us assume the deterrent falled to deter.

Were this to happen, the US President would naturally alone decide whether or not nuclear weapons were to be used. This would not, of course, apply to the British or French deterrents.

The supreme commander. Allied powers Europe, an American, would say what he felt was necessary. His recommendation would go straight to the US President and the North Atlantic Council.

This Nato council has only a consultative role, but although that is not enough and ought to be improved, it is at least a say in the decision.

There would certainly be enough time in which to consuit with the US President although I am far from sure how long it might take the 15 member-countries of the North Atlantic Council to reach a decision on such a momentous subject.

If there were a war, no-one, neither the US President nor the Soviet head of

government, can tell whether it could be . brought to a halt at a low level.

Where nuclear was is concerned I am not an optimist. I also fear that a war. once it had begun with the use of nuclear weapons in Europe, would tend to escalate fast in view of the short notice

of impending strikes. In the nuclear age the teleprinter link between Washington and Moscow, popularly known as the red telephone between the White House and the Kremlin, would naturally be operational.

So it should be, to prevent the disaster of war and, failing that, to limit it.

I cannot imagine nuclear war spreading to Europe from a conflict anywhere else in the world. That would only be possible if the other part of the world were of such immense importance to America and Russia as to be comparable with that of Europe, with . . . .

The danger is no longer as serious a it was before the First World War, when a spark from the Balkans ignited a powder keg that blew up all Europe.

The nuclear deterrent is one reason why the risk is no longer as acute as if Vietnam deters the Americans from

running any such risks and Afghanistan. or so I should imagine, currently deters the Russians from doing so. Countries on whose soil nuclear weapons, especially medium-range mis-

siles, are based ought to have a greater say in their deployment. I could envisage a crisis Cabinet mee ting: not an organisation, just one Minister, a man enjoying the greatest con-

fidence of Nato heads of government. He would sit in the same room as the US President once the nuclear decisionmaking began. He could then advise the President on European interests and such national interests as might predo-

Now that nuclear launching systems are based in Europe we have gained a first insight into US planning objectives and are, for the first time ever, in a position to exert influence on US nuclear policy as a whole.

This is a major and dramatic step forward as far as Europe is concerned. What we have yet to succeed in gaining is a say in the final process of decision.

One advantage we have is that the British and German deputies to the supreme Allied commander in Europe can advise the American C-in-C when a nuclear requisition is submitted to the US President and the North Atlantic

No-one can say when the Americans might be prepared to escalate into the range of nuclear was options. Nato has no hard-and-fast programmes that automatically escalate.

We decide in accordance with the given situation and the given situation determines the means of warfare selected for use.

I am convinced the Americans will stand by their commitments to Europe; they have done so in the past.

A much more critical point is whether the Europeans are going to stand by their commitments to America or to put it better, to the North Atlantic pact, I take a very sceptical view given the

current trend, which is based in part on the depressed state of the economy. Without a doubt it is also based, how-

ever, on a shortfall of political carnest in a number of Nato countries. They are short on the will to do what, as it were, the Warsaw Pact forces on us.

can only hope that the Europeans will come to appreciate their responsibilities.

Gerd Schmückle (Welt am Sonntag, 15 November 1981)

## Brezhnev sees how the land lies willies

Continued from page 1

jeopardised more by Washington than

by Moscow. How does Moscow assess Bonn's role? The Soviet Union, unlike America, does not engage in dialogue on a basis of equality with its allies, while in the

West Moscow is no longer talking with anyone really. The only Western politicians with whom the Kremlin is still on speaking terms are Helmut Schmidt and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the West's longestserving head of government and Foreign

Ties with the Bonn coalition are hard hit politically, yet Moscow behaves as though relations with the Social and Free Democrats in Bonn were a lasting example to be followed even when times

Minister respectively.

Does this perhaps mean that the Kremlin attaches absolute priority to enticing Bonn to defect from the West? Probably not.

By virtue of its arms build-up and its late colonial self-service in countries ranging from Angola to Afghanistan the Soviet Union has only itself to blame for its ties of old with the Western world all but going by the board.

That is why the Kremlin today (and its leaders have always tended to be on the cautious side) is no longer in a position to calculate the risks its policy en-

If Russia were to aim exclusively at encouraging peace movements and at softening up the Federal Republic of Germany, the gap between it and America would grow even wider and the old balance of power would be put fully out

The Russians are more firmly fixated on the Americans than the Europeans are, and this is likely to remain the case. They need American grain shipments and are afraid of America's alarming potential for military innovations.

Bonn faces the tough task of putting this Soviet interest to good use for arms control purpose and of continually urging the two superpowers to practice

Mr Brezhnev's visit presented an opportunity of so doing. Chancellor Schmidt had to try and make it clear to his Soviet visitors that in America, as in propaganda was currently determining the course of politics, and not vice-yersa.

This makes it more difficult and confusing for America to learn its lesson which, despite flexing its verbal muscles, Washington is clearly willing to do.

Herr Schmidt will have been able to tell the Soviet leaders from personal experience that President Reagan is willing and able to listen.

A number of other leading members of the Reagan administration are likewise willing to give arguments a fair

The Chancellor will have told Mr Brezhnev, that neither of them have much time left in which to avert a total breakdown of arms control talks.

With an eye on the Geneva talks between the superpowers on mediumrange missiles he will have called for a quantifiable interim result, for Moscow to state clearly where it would stand until summer 1983.

If it failed to do so, Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles would inevitably be deployed in Europe, a development that could only be forestalled by a swingeing cut in the number of Soviet SS-201 siles stationed in Europe,

The Geneva talks, Herr Schmidte have failed to point out, are the means by which missile mode can still be brought to a halt.

But how seriously will the K take this warning? Moscow will as is a blend of resignation and military compromises, but only the feeling that the coali-Washington responds politically acknowledges the basic principles of logue and parity.

If America fails to do so, the Go is not seriously pondering the talks cannot be expected to make the Chancellor's public deway either next year or the year after to stick to his guns.

Missile modernisation is unlikely are two consequences of this get under way in the West before the effect on the media, Cruise missile test schedules.

missiles to be deployed in Europe resistance, led by the Labour Party the media: the 1976 election ready gaining momentum,

Britain. It will be one in Gemanian to Allensbach research experts. America too, and even in the United that this anticipation had States the peace movement is regular cused the victory. lost ground. The Soviet Union could deal mile and was rebutted at the time

modernisation plans an even more had of that institute, Professor blow if it were to offer bot Namann — primarily because moratorium on the deployment was used by the CDU to medium-range missiles and a units the press part withdrawal of SS-20 missiler. ... the press.

prior concessions of any substance asions and hopes, all of which pecially in advance of the Gensya the in what they write. So the value of Mr Brezhnev's value consequence goes far Bonn was not to be measured in the destiny of the coalition. It is of what the communique proclaim ton the nation's economy.

major contract Helmut Schmidt it to American and German interdefend until the last minute again and oil prices, there is a psyobjections, is a far cry from the visial factor that has greatly Mr Brezhnev conjured back in 1973, and to stagnation in Germany.

security policy. The investment Morat rates go down? What are the needs to ensure long-term energy squions up to? Will the governies needs to ensure long-term estimated a job-generating pro-supplies with the aid of Western will the government face one nology will prove impossible unless "worst winters since 1945" military balance in Europe is struck (1) twiddling its thumbs? When low a level as possible.

Whiskey 137, the Soviet submig stranded off Sweden, drastically reduced stranded off Sweden, drastically read community as a whole will think Scandinavian interest in a nuclear view view investing. zone just before Mr Brezhnev's viet

This incident demonstrated only that one of the most important well that Moscow's prospects in Eugh fighting the stagnation is to will remain strictly limited as long psychological impulses. And this does not show willing to practise in come from government action.

tween Bonn and the Kremlin Eugenoning courage for the future" would stand no chance whatever of ment policy statement in 1980) taining the benefits derived from the instilling such courage in the tente.

#### The German Tribunct

no way shridged nor editorially redraited.

Publisher: Friedrich Reinecke. Editor in Chief to be a pretty original and Helpiz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. English helpic contribution to the insub-editor: Simon Burnett. Distribution Markett of economic policy. But Georgine Picone.

Friedrich Reinecke Verleg GmbH. 23 Schoene Anthony it would do any good would Hamburg 76, Tel.: 22 85 1. Telek: 02-14733. Advertising rates list No. 18 - 1.17 Annual subscription DM 35.

ated, the political commitment

Despondency in Bonn as coalition wonders when time will run out

The feeling that the coaliand not remain at the helm too

is bardly anyone in the coali-

given the delays that have arbeingulant effect of the media on Britain is due to start allowing the is the effect on the nation's

by the coalition (it was very exause most journalists had anti-1984 is likely to be an election that it would happen that way,

was, of course, somewhat ex-

formalists are subject to subcons-But Moscow is not given to make dements such as expectations,

Not even the gas-for-pipelines the disputes the fact that, in

Economic cooperation remains productinty reigns supreme: when will

CDU/CSU take over in Bonn? Is with such uncertaintles, the bu-

docktoking of the mood thus are two possibilities: The no-Yet were it not for the firm the at could declare itself incapable

> Christian Schmidt-Hand, result, it would have to stake (Die Zeit, 20 November 13 iesut, it would nave to stake of an immediate change of guard

> > would be a pretty original and he be seen. In any event, the A purely academic because the will never contemplate such

A possibility would be for the MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West 24th Silver of the possibility would be for the 10011.

All articles which the GERMAN TRIBUNE repress to 10 prove its political determinations with the redicted state has at the helm and to explain leading newspapers of the Federal Republic of Germaning it sees in doing so.

They are complete translations of the original to the province of the province of the original to the province of woody knows that the government that it has amply proved itself in In all correspondence please quote your substitution foreign policy and that it views number which appears on the wrapper, britished to stay in power.

to détente and the Chancellor's and his foreign minister's routine in international affairs are an important asset which even critics cannot overlook when striking a balance.

There is hardly another Western government whose top politicians have as much experience in East-West relations. And in view of the continued confusion in America's foreign policy this is an asset which the peace movement underestimates.

The question as to what good a continued SPD/FDP government would do for the labour market is not so easy to answer. The warning that comes from Britain and the consequences of Thatcherism in that country loses its deterrent effect the more the government along with the opposition - deplores the abuse and excesses of the social seccurity system and the more it makes austerity an end in itself, letting it go at lamenting the bad times and hoping for

Trade unions, spurred by their angry grassroots, react grimly. They are becoming increasingly militant: 70,000 demonstrated in Stuttgart recently.

A trade union march on Bonn would in fact make the 10 October peace demonstration look like a Sunday stroll.

So how could the Schmidt/Genscher government still demonstrate its will to survive and its remaining energy and te-

The first psychological signal would have to come from a reshuffle of the

Since Schmidt seems determined to stay at the head of the government, any speculation involving him would be futile. Still, from the coalition vantage point there are sound reasons for both his staying in government and his turning the reins over soon to Johannes Rau or Hans Jochen Vogel.

There are enough candidates to make a cabinet reshuffle on a major scale feas-

But such a reshuffle would only make sense if it were more than just a reform in the personnel sector; in other words, if it were to pave the way for a review of the dogmatic austerity course of Matthöfer and Lambsdorff.

The government is naturally not in a position to join forces with the business community and so create a million new jobs as demanded by Heinz Oskar Vetter, the chairman of the Trade Union Federation (DGB).

But the government can take the initiative in creating jobs, as for instance by promoting the introduction of shorter working times.

On the question of flexible retiremen age, the government could ensure socially acceptable conditions for workers who want to make use of early retirement

Target-oriented employment measure remain a politically delicate business But considering the situation on the la-

bour market, even the FDP can no longer afford to resist action in this sector. For instance: an investment offensive

for the protection of the environment (forest rehabilitation, for one).

If the government were to embark on such action it would probably also be able to come up with financing methods other than additional borrowing (for instance: a special levy).

The trade unions, in their turn, would probably be willing to touch upon their old social affairs tabus if this were necessary within the framework of a sweeping employment programme.

In confunction with such measures. the government would have to intensify its political discussion with the Bundesbank. Waiting for lower interest rates is seen as the greatest obstacle to investment right now.

The annual economic report at the beginning of 1982 is supposed to give some information on the future stance of the Social/Liberal coalition.

And a look at the political timetable for next year shows that this would be the very last chance for the SPD/FDP coalition.

There are four State elections next year - two of major national importance: in Hamburg and Hesse. The way things stand today, Schmidt

could well topple along with Holger Börner over the issue of the additional Frankfurt airport runway in the autumn

Though all this is speculation, one thing is certain: if the coalition continues its paralysed wait-and-see policy will not last another year.

The question of where the blame lies would then be the only one of some interest. In any event, the mourning will not be excessive. Werner A. Perger

(Deutsches Aligemeines Sonntagsblatt, 22 November 1981)

he trade union strategy against Bonn's austerity measures does not

come as a surprise. What is unexpected, however, is the vehemence of the attack not only against the FDP but, for the first time, also against the Social Democrats.

The SPD has always been close to the

This disenchantment at union grassroots was clearly demonstrated at the mammoth demonstration in Stuttgart when the district head of the Metalworkers Union, Franz Steinkühler, earned himself a storm of applause when he called for employment-promoting meas-

The response was so overwhelming as to make it almost redundant for Metalworkers boss Eugen Loderer to announce further union action should continued pay in case of illness or un-

employment benefits be pared down. Things are clearly happening in this country; more so than is visible on the surface and probably of a worse nature than evidenced by union demonstra-

All four aims of our stability and growth laws have been violated: we neither have a balanced foreign trade nor do we have adequate economic growth, price stability or full employment,

It is little use to say, as the Chancellor and his finance minister have been doing, that we are better off than our neighbours in Western Europe and the

And as to the workers and employers, they have been paralysed by government helplessness and inactivity.

So it is not surprising that the German Trade Union Federation (DGB) now says "so far and no further."

resistance to economies

But this must not be seen as a declaration of war or even as an implacable response by organised labour. Though this has not been expressly voiced, the unions are prepared to go along with the austerity measures as they stand right

And at least as far as the unions are concerned, these measures are no peanuts: those who quiet their jobs will have to wait longer before getting dole money; no unemployment benefits for those who have not paid into the fund; cutbacks in vocational rehabilitation programmes; abolition of provisions whereby those earning less than DM390 are not subject to social security contributions; reduction of child allowances; and 6,000 fewer posts in the civil service - to mention but a few of the most

important cutbacks. The budget cuts affect the working population to the tune of DM10bn. And it is still not certain that this will be enough. Since our social security system is based on stable development, further cutbacks will become necessary

unless there is growth. But whether these cutbacks must b made by whittling away at unemployment benefits and at continued salaries during illness, as called for by Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff re-

mains to be seen.' It should be possible to economise elsewhere. '''

It is therefore not surprising that the chairman of the DGB, Heinz Oskar Vetter, has called on all economically relevant social groups to meet.

An initial talk between the Chancellor, the trade unions, the business community and the Bundesbank has meanwhile taken place. Let us hope that future discussions of

this nature will produce more than just ritualised exercises in presenting the respective positions of the opposing parties as has so frequently happened. Prospects are not bad. For one thing. these talks, in the Chancellor's bunga-

low, are in private. For another, Herr Vetter has already said that the unions would be prepared to make concessions that will be painful provided the other side does the same. This means that the trade unions will

put up with a loss in real income for the workers if the government agrees to take steps to reduce unemployment. There is a good reason for making the Bundesbank take part in these talks. The

central bank has been called upon by

the unions and by parts of the government to reduce the interest rates. Though this would not automatically engender an upswing, lower interest rates would reduce the burden on business and provide investment incentives. Ultimately, the success of any such

measures will also depend on the discipline of the business community. It would have to exercise price restraint as a precondition for lower wage deals working hour must be shortened.

If trade unions, employers and the Bundesbank agree on this kind of crisis management it would serve as a positive Anion Hunger

(Stuttgarter Zeltung, 10 November 1981)

State of Section 2

tries; and

#### HOME AFFAIRS

## Runway issue raises basic questions

here is much more at stake than 500 acres of woodland near Frankfurt: that was made obvious from the television pictures of police acting against demonstrators opposed to a new runway for the international airport.

Television carried scenes that looked like civil war: policemen wielding batons against people already clubbed almost unconscious, people who a few moments before had thrown Molotov cocktails at

What is at stake here is fundamental to a democratic society. It raises questions about the relationship between minority groups and the majority; and what means are appropriate in pursuing political aims.

There are two opposing camps: those who stress the legality of the authorities' actions and those who deny this legality.

The group favouring the additional runway argues: The decision-making process has been dragging on for oneand-a-half decades; the state parliament has approved the project and the courts have repeatedly upheld the decision.

Anybody who now yields to pressure from the street and to violence creates a dangerous precedent. In the end, it must become impossible to govern because a militant minority can always be found.

A state in which any mini-group can say "no" to a project and in which the government, notwithstanding its majority in the legislature, can no longer assert Itself becomes ungovernable.

The opponents of the runway see it differently: in their view, purely formal legalities suppress justice in Frankfurt.

They regard the expansion of the airport as a crime against the environment ("mother nature is being killed by father

The runway has thus become the symbol of resistance against an all-powerful technology - resistance that turns into a rebellion against the state of law and order. This state is simply labelled a "police state" which the opponents of the runway threaten with an "ecological civil war." They are bent on making Frankfurt airport a precedent for the republic as a whole.

Neither of the two camps is free of blame. True, the Hesse government can fall back on the legislators' decision and on court rulings. It has legality on its

But did the government adequately take into account that public consciousness has changed in the past years? Has it really done everything to inform and convince the public - as for instance through a large public hearing along the lines of the Gorleben hearing?

Do the members and followers of the government not too obviously have doubts about the correctness of their decision (and perhaps even a bad conscience) to permit them now to adopt an

unyielding attitude of self-righteousness? Above all: Holger Börner's government has created the impression - even among his followers - that he wants to nut the public before a fait accompli before the one constitutional possibility, i.e. a referendum, has run its course.

Why? Either the people vote in favour of the government (and 60 per cent are sald to be in favour of the additional runway) or they don't. If they do, a delay

of a few months would hardly matter and Börner could face the public with the mandate of the people behind him. This would enable him to go ahead even if this entailed using the full clout of the government

THE GERMAN TRIBUNE

Should the referendum go against him, the concrete sence around the site would have been erected for nothing and the woods would have been chopped down to no purpose.

But the way things stand it appears as if the opponents are to be denied their constitutional right; and this in turn casts a poor light on our democracy.

Of course, the opponents of the runway are not without blame either. The Wiesbaden demonstration and the handing over of 220,000 signatures in favour of a referendum was democracy in an exemplary fashion. But the ultimatum to the government, the call for a blockade of the airport and the squatting on the nearby motorway demonstrate the hubris of zealots carried away by the fact that they have managed to rally hundreds of thousands of people.

The experience of mass power has evidently led them into believing that they speak for the majority and into taking the law into their own hands.

If a civil servant were to do the same. he would be faced with a public prosecutor's action — as has happened in Frankfurt.

The late realisation on the part of the citizens' initiative that its action has got out of hand cannot undo the riots and the bloodshed in their wake.

So what now? The most important thing is to defuse the situation. The conflict must be prevented from escalating into a civil war. The Wiesbaden government could, for instance, desist from using legalities to stop the referendum; and it could suspend the cutting down of the woods and commencement of construction until the people have had their say.

In return, the opponents of the runway could undertake to suspend demonstrations pending a final outcome. Those who nevertheless take to the streets to riot would then forfelt the right to be treated with kid gloves.

Pending the referendum, there should be an all-out dialogue and information campaign, but no confrontation.

Both sides should undertake to abide by the referendum - regardless of its



In the final analysis, upholding the constitution is more important than any decision on a specific issue, and there is a point when the full power of authority may be used to safeguard this constitutional order.

Law and justice are not what the most vociferous of rioters would have us believe. They express themselves in the consensus of the majority, although minorities must have their chance to influence the course of things.

It is the duty of politicians to implement the majority decision even if this does not suit their concept - and not only in committee meetings and the corridors of power but also in full view of the public.

In a democracy, the authority of law needs the backing of the citizens. And the use of force is no way of achieving this. And this goes for both the power of the state and that of its critics.

Theo Sommer (Die Zeit, 20 November 1981)

# City is divided as youth club NANCE case comes to court



en people are being tried on L charges of disturbing the peace in

The charges arise out of incidents on the evening of March 5 and the following morning.

First there was a demonstration against the proposed closure of a youth club known as Komm, during which DM20,000 of damage was caused, mostly to shop windows and car aerials.

Police then raided the club and arrested 172. Some were quickly released but 141 were detained on warrant, some for days, on the ground that they might remove evidence and disappear.

The whole affair is an emotional one and has split the city of Nuremberg into two camps. Most of the population supports the

But there is a big minority which talks about a scandal. It argues that the

mass arrests were out of proportion to the damage and says that many of those held were unconnected with the demon-

Subsequently, proceedings against 59 were dropped.

seemingly unimportant incident shows how unsuited Nuremberg, a provincial metropolis, is for such a trial that could become a precedent case: court room 619 that has been chosen for the trial can accommodate only 75 spectators, and 30 of these seats have been allocated to journalists from all parts of the country.

It is obvious that the courtroom will be crowded to capacity; and even the parents of the accused might find themselves without a seat. Says the mother of one of them: "We'll have to queue up at the crack of dawn - and even then we'll be lucky if we get in."

The parents have demanded that the trial be held in room 600, which is larger and would accommodate more spec-

But the court has rejected this for understandable reasons: this is the room where the Nuremberg war crimes trials were held, and nobody wants to create a link between a simple trial for disturbing the peace and war crimes.

Only three days before the trial was due to begin a citizens' action group calling itself "Citizens' Initiative 5 March for Basic Rights and Democracy" organised a rally that was attended by 600.

They carried placards that clearly showed that the ultimate objective was more than just justice for the accused Some of the placards read: "It is the right to demonstrate that is on trial."

Another, more aggressive slogan read: "We cannot force the pigs to tell the truth; but we can force them to lie even more brazenly,"

A police officer said this was defamation and demanded the removal of the placard.

Eye witness reports are conflicting, policemen say that the objectionable placard was rolled up. But the citizens' initiative says that an agreement had been reached with the police to cut out

the word "pigs" and that this was done, Half an hour later, a group of police-

men seized the carrier of the and took him to police headquarten The demonstrators split and a memoring countries must make use of about 150 to 200 marched to the their own potential rather than tion where they demanded his in the development from outside,

A head-on clash seemed immined meeting in Berlin. a while, but eventually the situation the very beginning, this had laxed a bit and police and demonstrating basic idea of development aid. accused each other of provocation is said constructive cooperation bewas the end of this incident.

and lawyers becase they felt that the just distribution of resources was the only way they could act in adequate standard of living in all something against the all-powerful of the world. This was the most diciary.

The fact is that the individual act. Matthofer told the 36th Internaand his family are at a disadvant Congress of the Junior Chamber Since a lawyer may defend only autional (Jaycees International). client there were not enough lawyers past years had seen a widening of the whole of Bavaria who were will no between the richest and the to take on the cases and some familiar countries in both absolute and had to seek legal counsel from all it terms. away as Hamburg,

Nobody knows how long the first detail nations rose from US\$5,600 in will take. It could be anything from to four weeks. And costs will amount light rein on

To ensure that the public is fully investment formed on the course the trial taken and not only through the informations will be restrained next year released by the press office of the transe of the economic outlook, says remberg judiciary — well-known in his lastitute for Economic Research, from all parts of the country will will the trial as observers, among them and the Institute's latest survey of mer Constitutional Court Justice la investments for next year

#### Rejection of lawsuit causes controversy

The publication of a recent decise months it is even possible that of the Constitutional Court has cause siment plans will be reviewed and controversy: a screening committee tolume upped. three turned down a constitutional bisionalisation as the ultimate objecsult in connection with the Nurember of investment is gaining in imporincident on the grounds that "there is The motivating elements here are no adequate prospect of success."

But this must not be construct thon. mean that the arrest warrants issued there are hardly any expansion Nuremberg were legal or even constitutions planned for next year, says

Yet many newspapers wrote that the this year, 1982 will again see Constitutional Court justices had uphaidenable increase in mining investthe 141 arrest warrants.

accused: "All I could think when I had, which has been plagued by that was: that's the end. It's fright demand, is likely to invest 25 per having to live in constant fear that a less this year and cut back another son will take these newspaper report in 1982.

Dr Erich Küchenhoff, professor blacturing industry has not improvadministrative law, warns of such blacturing industry has not improvator stories," saying that the Constitute orders have diminished slightterpretation and that it had follower dowing a rise in the first quarter of the original statement with a pressipling a rise in the first quarter of lease to put an end to false interpression in the subsequent months. But tions. — a unique action for the Country in the subsequent months. But

Still, the mood among those in the level of production will dock is depressing. Too often and with behind last year. Vociferously has it been said in the wastable economic situation has few months that it is the judiciary the business community to that is in the dock in Nurembers, and public ntosecutors can be survey indicated in investments.

# Self help the key' for developing countries

Finance Minister Hans Matthofer

the industrial nations, Opec and The Citizens' Initiative 5 March simporting developing countries was organised by the accused, their participandition for peaceful and lasting task in international politics

sennual per capita income in the

an increase of four per cent st this year, adjusted for inflation actual investment volume in 1982 abe four per cent lower.

his means that the decline will not accessive. And should economic conimprove markedly in the next

and the energy

Commented the mother of one of the construction industry, on the

indees and public prosecutors call last years that the manulonger back down and are doomed industry's investments this year success. An acquittal would be the manufacture of about five per cent. It will be considered for inflation, there will be considered for inflation.

1960 by about US\$5,000 to US\$10,700 in 1980 (in real terms).

During the same period, incomes in the poor developing countries rose by only US\$70 (from US\$180 to US\$250). Herr Matthöfer named the following most important tasks:

Basic needs like food, clothing, shelter and health care must be ensured for

• The dependence of the developing countries on expensive imported oil must be reduced through new sources of energy; and

• The natural ecosystems must be preserved and growing erosion - especially desert encroachment - must be stopped. One of the great problems, the Minister said, was to achieve unity on the strategy to be used in the pursuit of these

After 30 years of development policy, it is becoming obvious that "the developing countries must make use of their own potentials rather than expecting development to be injected from outside in the form of capital, education and technology."

In a moment of self-criticism, the I inance Minister added that the volume public sector development aid was still inadequate, saying ". . . and I expressinclude the Federal Republic of Germany." By the same token, he pointed out that:

 Development aid spending in this country continues to rise disproportionately to other budget items;

• The Federal Republic of Germany is the most important donor country for

 It is earnestly trying to provide aid in a form that would best serve the interests of the recipient countries.

the 30 or so poorest developing coun-

Herr Matthöfer said that what mattered was to strengthen the developing countries' own sense of responsibility and to remove obstacles to development such as religious taboos, waste, corruption, exploitation and human rights vio-

Otto Wolff von Amerongen, president of the Standing Conference of German Chamber of Commerce and Industry, said that new accents and priorities were needed in the North-South dialogue.

Like Matthöfer, he warned of "pointless hardening of the North-South front" which, in the past had led the world up a blind alley.

Neither the one-sided demands of many developing countries nor the defensive strategy of the industrial nations had led to a breakthrough so far, he said.

Von Amerongen called for a close cooperation between the emerging national economies of the Third World and international organisations aimed at creating a broad and reliable framework

But providing open markets for the goods of the Third World was more than just removing tariff and administrative barriers, he said.

To achieve this, the Third World would have to improve its production facilities and establish export companies Moreover, foreign investment alone is no cure-all in the bid for industrial pro-

The 4,800 Jaycees from 90 different countries who gathered to discuss problems of the world economy made this the biggest and most international congress of its kind ever to be held in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Heinz Heck/Peter Weertz (Die Welt, 11 November 1981)

# Pessimism in the Ruhr

TET he mood of the Ruhr area business community has reached an all-time low, say the region's chambers of commerce and Industry.

The recovery forecast for the autumn did not happen.

Only one year ugo last autumn, 20 per cent of the businessmen assessed the situation as bad, says the chamber's autumn survey. By the spring of this year that had risen to 34 per cent, Now it is 44 per cont

The 1,225 businesses that were included in the survey gave the following reasons for the continuing decline rising costs, high interest rates, declining profits, falling domestic demand and months of contradictory discussions the rehabilitation of public sector finances and the removal of obstacles to

But the survey also shows that there were improvements in our foreign trade primarily due to exchange rate

This has enabled the Ruhr area business community to improve its competi-

But the 23 per cent export quota in the manufacturing industry is not enough to buttress a sagging business per-

The various branches of industry differed widely in their assessment of the situation. The evaluation of the basic materials and capital goods industry was particularly negative. Here, more than two-thirds of the respondents described their situation as "poor".

Outlook in the construction industry was also bleak. The proportion of negative assessments rose by 22 per cent to close to half.

The only bright spot was the food and catering industry, which said things were getting better.

The retail trade has also deteriorated most sectors. Even the traditional demand after the holiday season failed to happen this year.

The retailers attribute this to the fact that incomes have dropped in real terms, that the savings quota is still high and that rising energy prices have skimmed off some purchasing power,

Only eight per cent of the retailers said that business was "good"; 40 per cent said it was bad.

As to the next six months, 37 per cent anticipate business to be poor. This is a tiny bright spot considering that now 44 per cent are dissatisfied.

The chambers conclude: One section of the business community : holds that the nadir has been reached and that business will continue at the present low

Sales in the Ruhr area during the first six months of this year stood at DM76.6bn, 3.4 per cent more than 1. the same period last year. But prices of manufactured goods have risen by 6,1 per cent, which means that sales, adjusted for inflation, have declined.

(Die Weit, 13 November 1981)

#### The economy: seeking the culprit

usinessmen are always complaining Dabout the economic situation, diminishing profits, rising costs and lack of capital. They agree that the future looks bleak, and they blame excessive wage demands and short-sightedness of politicians who burden them with ever new taxes and levies.

Trade unionists, by contrast, speak of mass unemployment without a silver lining, diminishing wages in real terms and growing stress at work

They blame it all on the business community's greed for profit and on economic policy makers who refuse to listen to the trade unionists' sound

Economic research institutes now also see only growing unemployment, less will to invest and rising inflation rates.

When it comes to distributing blame. they usually spread it pretty equally between business, the trade unions and the

We have once more been seized by a mood in which nobody, except government representatives, whose lob it is to be optimistic, is prepared to admit that the situation could change for the better.

Pessimism and despondency prevail. Politicians, unionists, businessmen and economic researchers keep confirming this bleak outlook to each other. And since everybody can point to the others substantiating his own lacklustre view, it is generally assumed that the pessimism is warranted.

It is, as things stand at the moment:

but must it remain so? Public consciousness always shows traits of manic depression. It always seesaws between exuberant optimism and deep pessimism. In such a situation, it is meaningless to point to the economy's

own recuperative forces. This even applied in the days of high growth rates and labour shortages. That was the time when erudite books on the disastrous consequences of unbridled growth sold like hot cakes.

It was the time when many prophets of doom believed that disaster could only be averted by artificially checking the boom.

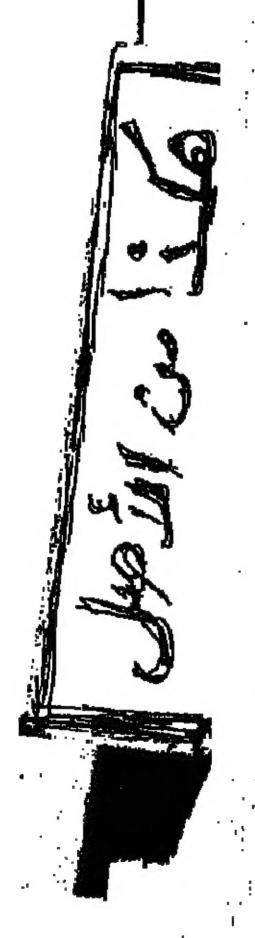
It was also the time when many economists felt that German labour market problems could only be solved by recruiting millions of foreign workers.

The situation regarding energy is similar. Days of hysterical prophecies of crisis and doom are followed by times when we full ourselves into a feeling of false security. All it takes is a few months of an oil glut and a drop, in petrol: prices by a couple of pennies to brush aside warnings as coming from people who habitually cry wolf ... until the next crisis.

'And as to public sector finances, this year has seen warnings of disaster and minimising of the problems in rapid succession. But this is hardly the atmosphere in which to develop a long-term strategy with which to overcome the

The same applies to the economy as a whole. The next upswing is sure to come - and it will come the sooner the quicker we rid ourselves of the idea that the only way things can go is downward. Michael Jungblut

(Die Zeit, 6 November 1981)



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# Textile workers protest as jobs vanish by the thousand

THE GERMAN TRIBUNE

bout 25,000 textile workers took Part in a raily in Bonn to draw attention to their industry's plight.

It is likely that by the end of the year, there will be 70,000 fewer workers in the industry than at the end of last year.

A secretary of the textiles and clothing workers union, Alfred Hänel, says: "Imagine the hue and cry if 70,000 steel workers were sacked at one fell swoop."

There is no doubt that there would be an uproar.

The loss of 70,000 jobs in iron and steel would mean, for instance, a total shutdown in the Saar, which has 38,000 steelworkers, and the closure of Hoesch in Dortmund too, with its 21,000 jobs.

Alternatively Thyssen, a leading manufacturer, Peine Salzgitter, a state-owned company, and Klöckner - all large companies - would have to go to the

Yet will there be a hue and cry over the 70,000 textile jobs? No.

The reasons are easily outlined. The 200,000-odd steelworkers are employed by about a dozen large companies and represented by the largest trade union in the country.

The half a million textiles and clothing workers are employed by well over 5,000 small firms and backed by a much smaller union.

This year Bonn has promised the steel industry DM1.8bn in subsidies to prevent mass redundancies.

Management and staff of the textile industry, in contrast, have been told by Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff how wonderful the free market economy is.

Berthold Keller, general secretary of the 300,000-strong textile workers union. has arranged for the protest in Bonn. It was not be the first time they had drawn attention to their plight. Factory

#### 'Gatt agreement has failed to protect home industry'

meetings, platform debates and local protest gatherings have been held since September to get the message across to local and state politicians and Bonn

Letters and personal visits have been written and paid to persuade political leaders in Bonn that something must be done to improve matters,

A year ago a one-hour token strike was held to draw attention to the plight of weavers and spinners, tailors, cutters and finishers.

.. So far the cumulative effect of all these moves has been most unsatisfactory as far as union officials are concerned.

The Bonn rally will be the climax for the time being of the trade union's campaign for job security in textiles and clothing. It coincides with the Geneva Gatt talks on a new international textiles igreement.

The outcome of the renegotiations will be of crucial importance for the future of the domestic industry and its

The current international textiles agreement, regulating the trade in textiles and clothing between developing and industrialised countries, runs out at



the end of this year. It will have been in force for four years.

While generally upholding the principle of free world trade in textiles it imposed quotas on a number of sensit-

Twenty-eight developing countries that signed the agreement were affected by them. They include Hong Kong, India, China, Yugoslavia, Poland, Singapore and the Philippines.

They are allotted export quotas for their trade in the scheduled products, while the European Community countries are allotted import quotas for them. The outgoing agreement included an average annual growth rate of six per

cent for the exporting countries. The German union says the agreement has failed, by any stretch of the imagination, to live up to its original purpose, which was to protect home in-

So the union's demands are not only for a new agreement to be negotiated but also for substantially improved terms, such as quota growth rates of one-and-a-half per cent per annum.

In the industrialised countries, it argues, growth rates in the consumption of textiles and clothing have been negligible for years,

It would also like to see terms renegotiated not for four years but for ten. This would ensure for the industry a reasonable safety margin within which to reach investment decisions, it feels.

The union would not like to be accused of opposing the developing countries, so it has called for a distinction to be drawn between industrialised developing countries and bona fide developing

It has a point. Fifty-five per cent of textiles and 75 per cent of clothing imported come from one of the four textile giants in the developing world: Hong Kong, South Korea, Taiwan and

The agreement ought also to include minimum welfare provisions for workers in the industry, provisions that are to

apply worldwide. This, the union argues, would appreciably stem the tide of cut-price textiles.

In its fight to save jobs in the domestic industry the trade union is not alone. The management are with it all the way. It is an entire industry's fight for suvival.

Both agree in their assessment of the situation. Both have paid the price of free world trade, and it has been a heavy

Since the mid-60s the textiles and clothing industry has steadily lost ground, and the trend continues unabated. In 1962 there were 4,381 textiles companies with a payroll of nearly

Numbers have since declined almost uninterruptedly. At the end of last year only 2,249 companies were left. Their combined turnover was DM33bn, their payroll a mere 304,000.

In 1966 there were still 406,000 peo-

ple employed by nearly 5,630 clothing manufacturers. By the end of last year only 3,210 were left. Their turnover was DM20.7bn, their payroll 249,000.

In the 70s alone the number of both companies and people working for them in both industries declined by nearly 40 per cent.

Textiles and clothing companies have traditionally been based in areas where there was not much industry and every job counted

Along the GDR border and in Upper Franconia, the Lower Rhine, the countryside between Münster and the Dutch border, the Bavarian forest and the Swabian Alb regions unemployment is a constant problem.

Well over half the textile and clothing workers are women, and the union suspects that import policies for textiles are pursued without inhibitions because jobs for women are not felt to matter. The increasing glut of cheap textiles

imported have obviously contributed towards the industry's plight. In the course of the 70s imports increased in value from DM8.7bn to

'It is felt that women's jobs do not matter

DM25.8bn, or nearly trebled. Exports merely doubled in value, from DM7bn

The surplus of imports over exports more than quadrupled to DM9.5bn. Yet the Federal Republic of Germany has not only proved a receptive market in which free trade prevailed; domestic

manufacturers have also proved competitive internationally. In both imports and exports the Germans lead the world. On the import side they are ahead of both the United States and France. In exports they have run rings round Italy and France, both

countries renowned for their fashions. Despite this hue and cry over the Geneva talks it must be borne in mind that in textiles the industrialised coun-

tries do most business with each other. For years the major customers of German clothing and textiles manufacturers have been the Dutch, French and Austrians.

For years the Italians, French, Belgians and Dutch were Germany's major suppliers. But the ratings changed markedly in the 70s.

Among countries that export to Germany, Italy and France are now followed by Hong Kong, while Greece is sixth. Yugoslavia tenth and Yugoslavia ele-

In many parts of the market imports have long been essential. Tee shirts, for instance, are no longer manufactured in

Imports account for 93 per cent of underwear and lingerie sold in Germany. while 97 per cent of the country's anoraks were made up abroad.

About 85 per cent of rainwear is imsentatives of textile workers unions the form that both Holall over Europe."

Cunhild Free Book to the fact that both Holall over Europe."

(Die Zeit, 20 November 1988) ported, as is every other dress and cositume, not to mention 90 per cent of men's shirts and 70 per cent of blouses and trousers.

of the figures.

Helmut Wienholt of the Retail To Importers Association says 45 per of of imported finished products are ported by home industry.

So both unions and employers allegations of in any way advocating tectionism. They feel, indeed, that are as pure as the driven snow world where everyone else has a leaf towards protectionism.

Many threshold countries have doned off domestic markets by im The offenders here range from Bazza action by a consortium of South Korea.

ty not all member-countries are fell by 20,000 rendundancies fight fair. The EEC Council of Minister's second largest electrical consays Bonn far exceeds its 28.5-pershare of Common Market clothing to Council Chairman Ilans textile imports, whilst others take go The staff has become used in care not to do so.

of the EEC's total, whereas France, we sains at best. So the manage-13.4 per cent, is five per cent below and have to pull up its socks if it quota. Britain too, with an allocation adjusts the staff." 23.5 per cent, has managed to cut in Rubke also stresses that the ports to 18.3 per cent.

talks.

like to negotiate cutbacks.

ence to reduce their import quotas

German failure to

free-trade argument

ment followed by bilateral agreement

put over

the trends in consumer demand.

In France and Italy the state has a stal of the concern for only a ways lent a helping hand to the mg to syears. de, for which both have traditional 1983, AEG, whose balance sheet

German representatives at the Ellegreeted to stand on its own feet certainly seem to have failed to conthe others of the benefits to be denie from unfettered trade.

The attitude taken by Count Land 100th anniversary. But this dorff is diametrically opposed to the chief executive, Heinz Dürr viewpoint held by his French countrie to plug the many holes that part, and this failure to agree has the tompany. demned the Common Market countries of the frouble spots is Telefunto inactivity in Geneva.

They are bound by the terms of has already started to halve its Treaty of Rome to speak with one volution capacity in Italy and to cure and if unable to arrive at a common than, Mexican and Spanish headdenominator have no choice but to nothing at all, which is hardly likely improve their position at the General

with exporting countries on import librogovens en Staalfabrieken

So the union is already thinking Hotsch, wants is a fair and

terms of its next rally but one. Reparation from Hoogovens and

"If the EEC Council of Ministration Hoogovens and agrees on a viewpoint that is too far hold understanding for the purely moved from the trade union positions link between Hoesch and

says Herr Hanel, "there will be a proper than Do Rohwedder told a mee-gathering in Brussels attended by 150 the manufacturers.

Count Lambsdorff is in favour of co tinuing with the terms of the outgoin sector of plant technology agreement, where as his colleagues thably be easiest to put back in Britain, France, Italy and Belgium would ad the Olympia works in Wilshows signs of improve-

Their alm is to persuade the conlection. biggest problem for Dürr clearly the home appliances sector. His ad action there is becoming disrinow: production will include would be continuation of the old agree appliances that can be mass

red off a metal to the

A steel industry marriage between

amin and Dutch firms sceins

divoice after almost 10 years.

anion is between Hoeseli AG,

and the Koninklijke Neder-

Domestic textiles and clothing of the importing, the state of the importing, the state of the figures.

Domestic textiles and clothing of the importing of the

# new AEG rescue

Naturally, all of these measures will

It is obvious that the staff have every

When Emil Rathenau founded the

company in 1883, it was called German

Rathenau, the son of a Berlin busi-

AEG's products ranged from ship's

propulsion via locomotives and streetcars

all the way to heating appliances, tele-

The company was a pioneer in the

tram network of Nuremberg, Lübeck,

still fully operational.

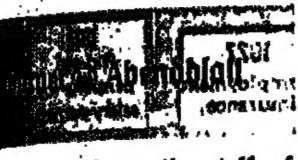
reason to worry. Durr is the only person

involved who is always optimistic.

mean further redundancies. But some of

the laid off staff might find jobs with

future AEG partners.



BG received the news of the

Edison Co. and manufactured light in froughle forecasts, the pen-Even within the European Communication operation in 1979 was nessman, studied engineering in Zurich and carned his first money as a draftsman

at the Borsig Co. But light bulbs did not fulfil Ratheliew years to negative forecasts nau and, in 1887, he renamed his com-Germany makes up over 36 per ce true and positive ones only half pany Allgemeine Electricitäts Gesellschaft (AEG) - a company to which Germany subsequently owed a great deal on its road to becoming an industrial

one by the banks will guarantee

phone cables and wireless telegraphy And with a loss five times since electrification drive for Germany; and

while a lovely birthday gift to May which, in 1983, will celc-

stertainment electronics. But the

s problem areas are the home sector, capital goods and



Chief executive Heinz Dürr . . . the ionely

It was under him that the former classical maker of capital goods became topheavy on the consumer goods side, This was particularly dangerous because good quality vacuum cleaners or heating appliances can also be made by low wage countries. But this was not all

AEG had a hard time getting off the ground again after war's end. Unlike its main competitor, Siemens, the end.of the war saw AEG with a more 10 per

Nine factories in East Berlin and the power stations which AEG built in China around the turn of the century are

One of AEG's strengths lay in the manufacture of streetcars; and even be-Stuttgart and Mülheim/Ruhr. fore the turn of the century the com-The new start had to be financed by pany was instrumental in developing the

Leipzig, Kiel, Danzig, Plauen, Königsberg, Altenburg, Spandau and Oslo. The 1930s were boom years, with the company venturing into new technical territory, and in the 1960s it earned its

last pioneering laurels by inventing the I'AL territory television system. But the early 1960s also marked the beginning of the decline when home appliance expert Hans Bühler became the company's chief executive and wasted a lot of money through bac

investment. Possessed by ubridled gread, Buhler (whose wastefulness was later rewarded when he was made chairman of the Super visory Board) bought up close to 50 mcdium sized consumer goods manufactu-

Leading State of the State of t

GDR were lost, and the company had to write off assets worth one billion reich-

All that remained for the company is the West was the factories in Nuremberg,

borrowing and the company now finds itself saddled with a debt burden of

Post-1945 sales grew fairly steadily but profits - even in good years - lagged behind those of Slemens.

Things were different in the company's first 50 years. For instance, between 1894 and 1900 the payroll quintupled and AEG's 17,000 workers accounted for a business volume of 100m marks. Sales rose sixfold in as many years.

There was no such steep rise after World War II. In fact, it is eight years since AEG paid its 110,000 stockholders a measly dividend of five per cent. Ever since, they have wound up empty-handed. 1 Burkhart Salohow

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 9 November 1981)

### Big steel deal pops at minimum the rivets

For both the union and the employed at in Estel N.V., the deal was in Germany this is anything but the on I January 1971 most satisfactory solution. Hardly any will probably join up with the demands they share can be met sahi AG, according to Hoesch But it has not yet been decided whether: Hoogovens will; enter into another steel marriage with a German company,

Rohwedder told the meeting.

Krupp, however, is reluctant to hurden a new steel merger with problems that would arise from any solution in-

volving a foreign company,
The Hoesch executive said that appointment and indicative of the last of integration within the EEC.

The next (third) round of talks tween Hoesch, Krupp Stall, and the Stall and the St

vantages of a tripartite solution in the Germanisteel industry. Rohwedder confirmed that a link-up

with Kimpp Stahl had priority for Hoesch and that talks at the Bonn Finance Ministry on subsidies for a new German steel merger will begin on 23 Novembers base and thanhaum

This means that objectives have to be agred upon before the end of the year though many details might remain open. Hoogovens, Dr Rohwedder said, have made a complete evaluation as yet but it was obvious that it is impossible to the tangle the whole of Estellation of the said.

### No change in Siemens? dividend

Considering the company's poor per-formance, Siemens should have reduced its latest dividend payment. Bu the management was reluctant to broadcast its weakness and decided to pay the same dividend it had been paying for years: DM8 per share.

But the money had to come from somewhere, and in this instance it was the open reserves that were pared down.

The dividend was maintained for the sake of the company's international standing and reputation.

But the problems are there for all to

It became evident in the summer that profits, which had been declining for years, had arrived at the modest level of

Naturally, this led to speculation that Siemens' star was waning and one magazine came up with the headline "The giant that overslept".

The stock market, with its unerring nose, responded promptly.

There was a time when no pottfolio was considered complete without Siemens, the bluest of blue chips. This was due, among other things, to the traditionally high regard in which the Siemens management was held as a paragon of soundness and continuity.

But as soon as the first tremors reached the market. Siemens stock began to drop. At the beginning of this year, shares were still quoted at DM269. Now they have dropped to DM200.

There are essentially two key areas that account for the diminished profits: data processing and plant components are in the red to the tune of half a bil-

After the unavoidable teething problems, data processing seemed to be approaching the point where it would break even. But here Siemens had to compete with the American giant IBM -a

formidable task. In the plant components sector things looked promising to start with. The company's policy was directed at growth

All went well until the general state of the economy thwarted plans.

Due to the world-wide economic decline, the plant components sector found itself in straits. Massive undercutting by foreign competitors led to considerable losses and forecasts now have to be reviewed. Siemens is trying to remedy the situation by adapting, streamlining and merging, 'It could be said that nobody can light the general 'economic' dolfrums. But there is more to it! The public suddenly learned of friction among the top echelon of Siefriens!

Reshuffles in the data processing sec-for went off relatively smoothly, but the replacement of the head of the plant components division caused a consider-

able siff the public is used to friction and conflict among the executives of major corporations, but this doss not include Siemens, ni mitectia a Mais anista.

There nignuhowever, one tooh solation Siemens standsgönsfirmefoundations and odts liquidalissets amounti to several billion adeutsquemarks.altris thereforeslikely that -the sleetical glant wills weather site probdeminstration water the retendant

(Mannhelmer Morgen, 12 Novemissive)

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#### THE WELFARE STATE

# Bismarck gets ball rolling and steals march on socialists

1881 is generally taken as the year in which the groundwork was laid in Germany for the system of comprehensive social security. On 17 November Chancellor Bismarck read out the Reichstag an Imperial proclemation in which Kaiser Wilhelm announced his Intention of making insurance provision for old age. ill-health and industriel injury.

Cocial security in Germany could, in a nutshell, be said to have been introduced by Bismarck in a bid to outflank the Socialists, banned since 1878.

It all began a century ago when the Imperial proclamation that has gone down in German history as the magna carta of social security was read out to the Reichstag.

The proclamation said that working men had a legal right to assistance in the event of sickness, industrial injury and disability and to a pension in old

Insurance societies were to be set up as cooperatives on the basis of mutual assistance and self-administration.

The view that a man unable to work (and his family) ought not to be left to their fate goes back millenia, to Ancient Greece and Rome, to early Christianity and the Middle Ages.

But the mediaeval Poor Law broke down in Germany during the Thirty Years' War. It was replaced by mutual assistance arrangements made by crafts and guilds.

They too proved insufficient when, from the mid-19th century, the industrial revolution changed the face of Germany, taking millions of industrial workers into overcrowded and unhygie-

Business boomed in the Reich after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870/71, but a recession that lasted from 1873 to 1896 led to domestic unrest.

The poor grew ever poorer and mutual assistance societies ought, it was suggested, to be transformed into a comprehensive system of government-supervised social security.

Chancellor Bismarck saw plans for a uniform accident, health insurance and pension scheme as a welcome opportunity of undermining the growing popularity of the Socialists.

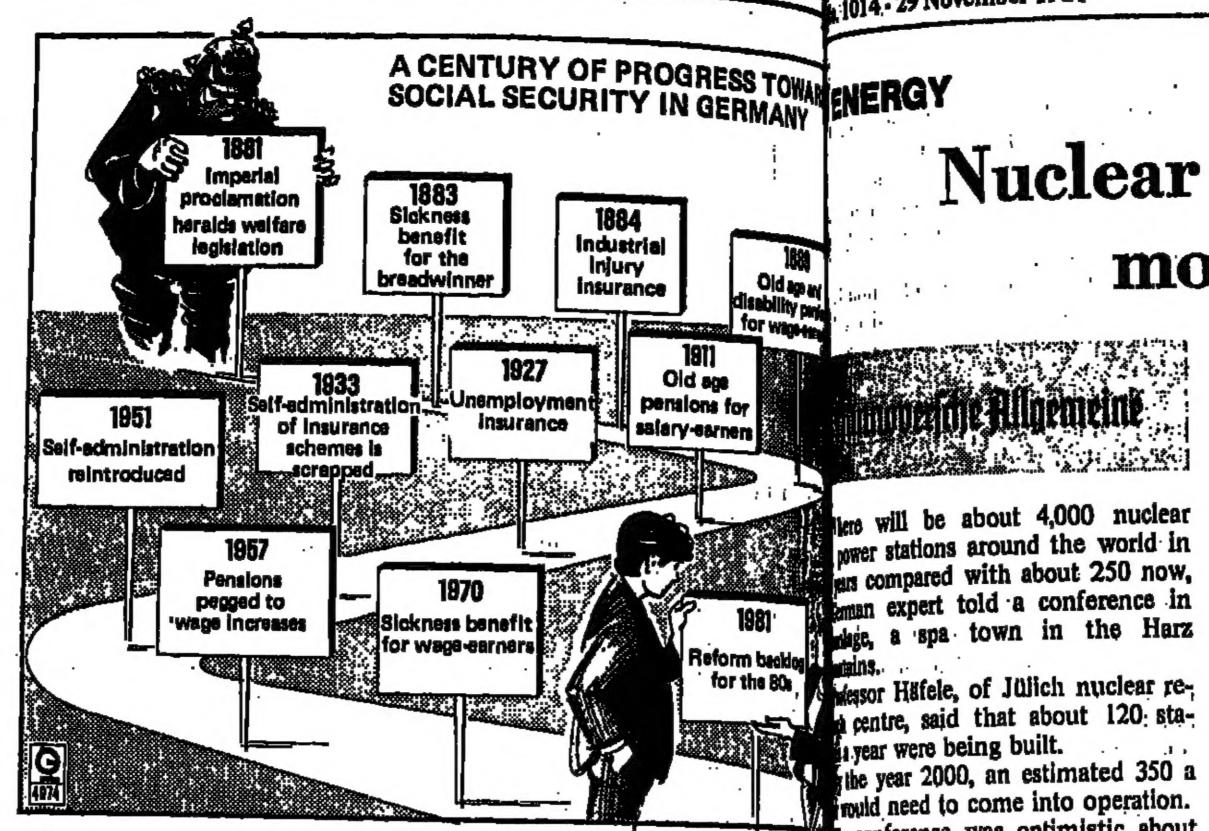
The first comprehensive health insurance scheme took effect in December 1884. Insured persons were entitled to free medical treatment and up to 13 weeks sickness benefit.

The scheme was run by any number of local, works and other insurance societies. The medical profession was not enamoured of it.

Doctors earned only between 80 pfennigs and a mark per consultation and treatment, whereas private patients paid much higher and more lucrative

Progressive industrialisation showed up the weaknesses of the scheme. Only about one person in five was insured: the breadwinner but not his

Besides, there were well over 22,000



different approved societies administering the health insurance scheme.

During the First World War and the recession that followed it most of these societies went bankrupt, whereupon the ontire health insurance system was reorganised and standardised.

Salary-earners (white-collar, as opposed to blue-collar, workers) had a separate insurance scheme of their own from 1911. They laid claim to a status midway between that of the workers and the management.

Low-income salary-earners were compulsorily insured, but higher income brackets were allowed to choose between voluntary insurance and opting out.

In 1934 unemployment insurance was introduced as a separate scheme.

After the Second World Wir the inture for nuclear power. German tire social security system had to learnies are keen to cash in on built. Welfare state provision were forecast at the conference by a bodied in Basic Law, the 1949 Lof experts that included a trio of weights in both senses of the term.

Individuals and groups not perhaps were Herman Kahn of the Hudinsured were gradually included in histitute, New York, Holger Börner, scope of the system, while profiter of Hesse, and Heinz Kluncker, real secretary of OTV, the public were steadily improved.

Two crucial improvements in its and transport workers union. post-war period have been regular that the latest, a convoy of new nuccreases in pensions and allowed regular stations were to be built bekeep pace with the rising cost of i introduced in 1957, and automatic ness benefit for wage-earners, in in its present form in 1970.

Franz fundament, not warheads) to help the deping countries to boost living stand-(Doutsches Aligemeines Sou

Börner, from neighbouring had mainly Germany in mind. is committed to nuclear power and investment potential in the print as a crucial state assembly election exign next year.

will be about 4,000 nuclear

the year 2000, an estimated 350 a

conference was optimistic about

String next year, or the year after

lower stations were to be built be-

ming to build mini-nukes (power

the Alps and the North Sea.

Geman manufacturers were

were set by energy supplies to

and higher interest rates have assure compiled by the Institute for Appl-

undertaken in an atmosphere of the was nonsense to talk in terms of al-

must at least be made to appear on the even 50 years from now (that is There must be greater political on a lar ahead US and Soviet experts tency, an improvement in frantial forecast prospects at Laxenburg) oil, in the coal and atomic energy will still be

There is no call for drastic cure. Messor Häfele said that by the year as there is no such thing as a sure would need to go on to the active But it is realistic at least to energy mainstays.

But it is realistic at least to energy mainstays.

Would need 350 nuclear stations a would need to go on to the active credibility of politics to be restored to go on to the active developing.

pression if the industrialised world fused to sell them the latest technology in nuclear power.

more and still more

Nuclear power stations: more,

So Herr Barthelt said his company. which manufactures power reactors, had no plans to sell developing countries watered-down nuclear technology...

What he expected was that KWU would be designing sturdy plant and equipment that would give Third World operators the least possible trouble.

In central Europe and the United States nuclear power stations with an installed unit capacity of 1,200 megawatts were now the rule.

They were unsuitable for developing countries that lacked the power grid to relay so much electricity to consumers. So KWU was now designing smaller units of between 200 and 400 mega-

"We already have more clients interested in this category of nuclear power station than there are countries capable of paying for them," said Herr Barthelt. Even a small nuclear power station will not cost less than DMIbn, and of the couple of dozen developing countries (out of a total of roughly 130) in a position to benefit from a nuclear power

afford one. The KWU board chairman said a major nuclear power station saved so much oil per annum (or made it available for sale to the developing world) that it was an aid factor worth consider-

station of this kind, only a handful can

In building and exporting nuclear power stations the Federal Republic Germany would thus be providing development aid in more ways than one.

Holger Börner, Hesse's burly Premier, was in favour of the idea in principle. "I seel growth is essential," he said, "and it

presupposes a secure energy basis." This security could not be ensured without nuclear power, which did not mean atomic energy alone must be de-

veloped, of course. He was not prepared to say whether he favoured accelerating planning procedures in the latest stage of the Bonn overnment's energy development pro-

"I am not in favour of going in anything at full tilt; it does not tend to improve matters," he said. "But I don't hold with going short on safety either,

#### Bonn set on easing atom planning

#### RHEINISCHE POST

Tore nuclear power stations must LVI be built to meet the growing demand for energy, the Bonn government has decided in its latest energy.

There are industrial policy reasons why atomic energy must make a large contribution towards electric power output, the policy document says.

Nuclear development must be seen in an overall economic context and neither nuclear power's current share of output nor the time it took to get planning permission for nuclear power stations and built them were in keeping with energy or industrial policy considerations.

Bonn is determined to simplify, standardise and speed up planning procedures. The emphasis will be on ruling out further public hearings on changes existing nuclear power stations or units already in the planning pipeline.

Talks on speeding up procedures have already been completed with the Länder and with the industry. Agreements reached are now to be implemented as soon as

Bonn is also keen to ensure further development of high safety standards in nuclear power station construction and swift implementation of the nuclear waste disposal programme.

Given the uncertainty of world affairs in connection with energy demand forecasts, the government does not intend to go firm on specific figures.

Surveys by the German Economic Research Institute (DIW), Berlin, the energy department of Cologne University and the Rhenish-Westphalian Economic Research Institute, Essen, are nonetheless felt to be plausible estimates.

They all expect coal, oil and other energy resources each to account for about a third of power supplies by the mid-

Their surveys were all commissioned by the Bonn government but undertaken independently.

Primary energy consumption is expected to increase by only 1 to 1.4 per cent between 1978 and 1995. This forecast is based on the assumption that GNP growth rates will be from 2.2 to 3.4 per cent in real terms.

Oil's share of energy consumption is expected to decline from 52.3 per cent in 1978 (and 47.6 per cent last year) to 34 per cent in 1995.

At the same time atomic energy's share of power output is stated to increase from three per cent in 1978 to 17 per cent in 1995.

This again assumes that at least 17,000 megawatts of extra installed nuc-

lear power station capacity will be built.

If this proves impossible the forecas? is that the price of electricity will in crease, as will the demand for alternative fuels and difficulties in building alterna-

tive power station capacity in time to cater for demand. Coal's share in meeting energy requirements is expected to increase from

17.8 to 22 per cent, whereas gas will roughly hold its own in percentage terms at 16. Hans-Henning Zencke

#### In common with other democracies the Federal Republic of Germany set out in the 70s to provide comprehensive welfare state cover. Production as the groundwork of all provisions made by the public sector

was paid less and less attention and priority increasingly given to distribu-The state is nowadays expected to

provide everyone with insurance cover against every eventuality. Keynotes of this insurance mentality are exorbitant provisions, that will be a

lasting burden on the future, a growing reluctance on the part of many "policyholders" to deliver the goods and an increasingly poor performance by employers who have to make the profits and foot the wage bills that pay for it

Since the mid-70s massive government debts have been run up to finance this state of affairs, which has worried a German public that has past experience of where this can lead.

Yet politicans have not seen fit to act on the growing appreciation by the general public of the need for drastic measures to remedy the situation.

They have chosen to ignore the opportunity of fundamentally improving the relationship between production and distribution.

They have missed an opportunity of setting right a situation in which the public debt is steadily mounting.

Viewed benevolently, the political consequence of this hesitation by the politicians may be termed a compromise cut less to fit the cloth of economic necessity than to ensure the retention of A STATE OF THE STA

# Arithmetic of entire system reveals growing problems



Its economic consequence is the failure to comply with immediate and longterm requirements that would ensure

The talk is all of Operation '82 and its current rearguard actions.

Since the summer theatricals in Bonn last August so many promises have been broken that people have increasingly lost faith in the willingness or ability of political leaders.

. Talk of a major turning point has not been followed by action, thereby missing an opportunity that could have accomplished so much more than any pump-

The shortcomings in the economic sector are, for the most part, that Operation '82 has done justice to neither the immediate cyclical nor the long-term structural tasks the country faces.

The increase in unemployment insurance contributions leads to an additio-

nal burden on company profits imposed by wage costs that bear no relation to the trading position. It is bound to affect the climate of

economic investment, especially as this

additional cost factor is bound not to be

taken into account in the forthcoming round of wage talks.

A first, albeit hesitant step in the right direction is the proposal to change the basis on which unemployment benefit is assessed.

it could just make people drawing benefit keener to resume employment.

Viewed jointly with the higher unemployment insurance contribution it might even exert psychological pressure to end abuse of the system by a few

There are no legal objections to Bonn pocketing the Bundesbank's annual profits. This is the usual practice in other countries too.

Difficulties arise when one considers where the money is to be spent. It will neither be used for debt servicing nor to reduce the amount needed in new loans

It will not even be used to boost government investment, which has been curtailed heavily in recent years. The construction industry, where so many companies are going to the wall these days, could well have done with an increase in public spending.

In the foreseeable future investment in the private sector is sure to be strictly

The longer-term monetary conseof this payout of Bundesbank seem likely to further limit

revenue even though high interest of ring countries. are, generally speaking, an invalid mits to growth, said Professor disincentive.

This will particularly apply to sold developing countries.

care of the future, and it will call

finances, but prospects for the first, so much biomass and so on.

conditions and a reduction

goIn other words, what is fiesded to developing and industrialised a policy of providing for the full feman manufacturers of power region are short of orders but confidently policy of ensuring economic recovery feet demand to increase in the Third.

If leeway can but be gained to find the score, political leeway will follow

This is because the profits at di hiessor Kahn took a wider view. He high interest rates, which will tend the growth held the key to the perpetuated to maintain this south perity of both industrialised and de-

companies, for which lower capital of it is in charge of a world energy sur-

the proportions of undeniable risk systems Analysis in Laxenburg, near Tana. The institute is a research facil-Yet investment is essential to ponsored by both the East and the

Tive forms of energy, he said. It Operation '82 may have largely be better to stress additive forms, which he meant so much solar

Mind's energy mainstays.

score, political leeway will follow matter of course.

F. Wilhelm Chimin sidilary, said manufacturers had no developing countries.

Dr. Christians, the writer of chimin sidilary, said manufacturers had no developing countries.

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In board challman of sidilary said manufacturers had no developing countries.

Atomic power supply Parcentage of total capacity by company elektra / HEW Nortwett Valtwerks Hamburgische E-Werke

#### and certainly not where atomic energy is So Herr Börner neatly avoided a clear

commitment for or against the wish of Rheinisch-Westfälisches Elektrizitätswerk (RWE) and other major power utilities to build more domestic nuclear power stations.

The utilities would like to build entire runs of nuclear power stations, starting with five 1,300-megawatt units. "The French are already building re-

actors in runs," said Franz Joseph Spalthoff of the RWE board, "faster and less enpensively than we are."

He and the advocates of nuclear power envisage a string of new units the length of the country, from Lingen via Hamm, Biblis, Neckar-Westheim and isar to Wyhl.

'Applications have been in the pipeline for six years. They now hope the safety of all these reactors will be checked by a single agency, the Bavarian safety inspectorate, and construction work can get under way by the year after next

#### Argument for fast

breeder reactor

Herr Spalthoff envisaged an even more far-reaching step. By the end the decade, he said, a decision ought to be taken on the construction of a first full-scale German fast breeder reactor.

He was able to cite international forecasts in support of his claim that breeder reactors would prove indispensable. Professor Häfele had said they would be

needed from the turn of the century. It was of more immediate importance to ensure that the fast breeder research project in Kalkar, near the Dutch border, was assured of funds next year.

Yet the power utilities in the south of Germany were under strict instructions from their supervisory boards not to chip in. These instructions were politically motivated, he claimed.

Heinz Kluncker, the trade union leader, was equally categorical and unequivocal in his support for another project beset by difficulties, a plant to reprocess spent nuclear fuel rods.

He was initially only willing to approve a pilot project of the kind Hesse is prepared to house, and Herr Kluncker stressed that a wide base of support, a consensus, must be established in favour of the idea.

Herr Börner clearly had every intention of ensuring there was a consensus before his state administration would give the go-ahead to built a reprocessing

He planned to hold a parliamentary hearing before embarking on planning procedures. This would be similar to the hearing held by Lower Saxon Premier Ernst Albrecht on the Gorleben project in Hanover in 1979. At the end of the Hanover hearing

Herr Albrecht announced that plans for a reprocessing plant in Gorleben were, politically speaking, stone dead. Dieter Tasch

(Rheinische Poet, 5 November 1981)

9 T

#### THE ENVIRONMENT

# Trying to make the inner city come to life again

wenty-one European countries are L. competing in a Council of Europe drive on urban renewal that is to end with a full-scale conference in Berlin early next year.

Five German cities have been entered. including a Karlsruhe suburb, Ettlingen and Burghausen.

Ettlingen, near Karlsruhe, is a medium-sized town where much of the rebuilding has been the work of private enterprise. Burghausen is a historic small town in Upper Bavaria.

All three, the city, the medium-sized town and the small town, have sought in different ways to counteract inner suburb decay and make town life desir-

The Karlsruhe suburb is still known as Dörfle, or the village it once was. even though it consists mainly of six- to eight-storey tenement blocks.

There can be no mistaking the mark the buildozers have made on the area, Nine hundred new apartments have been built and 3,000 people rehoused in the first stage of redevelopment.

Housing on small lots that was in bad shape, with poor plumbing, has been replaced by attractive town apartment blocks, but by and large the new residents are newcomers to the area.

The first overall development plan. drawn up in the 60s, envisaged high-rise blocks reminiscent of the Manhattan

O 450

1

skyline, but they never left the drawing-

After years of dispute over development proposals and a subsequent planning competition Karlsruhe managed, by the skin of its teeth, to avoid having the entire atmosphere of the city ruined.

In the mid-70s a rethink began, The alm was no longer to raze entire districts to the ground but to refurbish existing property that was in good shape.

Priority was given to maintaining architectural substance, and in the Dörfle district this has been done wherever

Over a 16-hectare (40-acre) area twothirds have been slum-cleared and the remainder modernised. New blocks have been built to a uni-

form height, and green and quiet courtyards make them a pleasure to live in. The exterior of new buildings has been designed to harmonise with the general appearance of urban architecture

in Karlsruhe too. In nearby Ettlingen, population 36,000, rebuilding the town centre presented fewer problems even though it did not have the DM100m-plus the Federal and state governments have invested in the Karlsruhe project over a 10-year period.

Ettlingen is an example of how, with skilful town planning, private investment exceeding DM120m can be promoted at little cost to the taxpayer,

The amount so far invested by the municipality has been a mere DM4m. which is roughly what it costs to build a small gym nowadays.

Yet Ettlingen has preserved its mediaeval character without coming to look more like a museum than a living community. It is a confusing pattern o narrow streets that have been pedestrian precincts for centuries.

Very sparing use has been made of concrete, glass and steel. Residents were consulted at an early stage in the planning - and not just the public in general but people directly affected, such as the old-age pensioner, the milkman and so on.

Burgomaster Erwin Vetter says the town has developed a new awareness of itself as an entity that would make short shrift of plans to change the face of Ettlingen by building, say, a department store that did not fit into the pattern.

· The town has consistently opposed plens to set up shopping centres on the outskirts. Ettlingen town centre was to remain the focal point of local life. None of the 1,000 residents of the redeveloped area has been forced to move

out - neither by the planners nor by high rents in the new apartments. Shops, offices and housing have been combined to ensure reasonable rents.

This mixture has been sustained to will LOSOPHY sistently that families even live in partial LOSOPHY

the Rathaus, or town hall. Powers of planning permission not exercised to ensure that units were in the required design (pr half-timbered)

Instead, the municipality bouch the plots that were earmarked for a lopment, planned the projects sold them.

Bavaria and Austria, the Altstadt, or and its 70th anniversary with a diaeval town centre, looked like the ing years ago.

the Neustadt, or new town, where not restricted to experts but is was no shortage of parking lots and friends of Schopenhauer, and cellars and ground floors of manuals of them from all parts of the buildings were not flooded every year time, the renowned the same time, the renowned

buildings listed as historic monuments and organised a series of lecruled out ideas that might have cut cost by means of wholesale demolitical director Klaus Dieter Leh-

look even more squat, with first-than ever before. windows at ground level. To restore the old proportions be said into 24 languages, and now he ings had an extra storey added on to be coming at us from the river side, but it was added in such

the buildings looked unchanged, from optimism" in philosophy. It To upgrade the town centre and who said that "we are condemn-4,000 residents Burghausen dedded Tilife of suffering." make extra municipal grants to youth is what he ought not to be. familles and shopowners who moved its personal history is a history of

Since 1975 the trend to move out homes, shops and offices in the Alian Hollmann, Frankfurt's director

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 10 Novembri

# Friends of Schopenhauer gather in suffering

In Burghausen, on the border better largest philosophical society,

Society, which has been headed Young people and shops moved thur Hübscher for the past 45

Redeveloping Burghausen proved the same time, the frankfurt's ticularly difficult because the number of University Library, opened an

Besides, an embankment had to miderscored Schopenhauer's great built to end the flooding, and it manhical importance and his timethe river side of the little old how which, he said, was more evident

way as to ensure that the town side was the first to break with the

"sad realisation" also engend-

ubral affairs, pointed to the great whauer admirer Max Horkheimer, works tellingly demonstrate the link between enlightenment and and of reason we find in Schopenis works which is loath to "come ons with any folly."

Expenhauer is still the most widely thilosopher, which proves that "not hose who write for fools find their

in any event, is what Schopenomce maintained.

Aler of Amsterdam described how 'me reader' changes not only himbut the book he reads.

ids, he said, are dialogues, and the If them change our lives. epenhauer's world-wide impact is

fally due to the fact that his philois understood as ethics and not an intellectual impulse.

Pazsche called him the "educator" me of the most influential philoso-In our era, this applies to Hork-Wittgenstein, Gehlen and Scheler 1 of whom have been moulded by

Thonest philosophising must not the fact that the world is domiby an insatiable drive of "self-

so, it is possible to make "conleason" prevail (Horkheimer's dis-Alfred Schmidt) and to unmask बादि (Wittgenstein)

impenhauer created a new, realistic Is of man and thus had a great im-Freud and "philosophical anth-Mogy" as a whole.

works exerted the greatest effect Inters and musicians. In a paper Frankfurt, Hans Wysling, direcof the Thomas Mann Archives, in carefully retraced the effect of enhauer on Thomas Mann's works. was under the impact of Schopenthat the young Thomas Mann

characterised the world as a "mutual ero-

The life of Man's impostor, Felix Krull, rests on lies and deception - but then, life would be insufferable without

It is here that Thomas Mann's art comes into its own. Thomas Buddenbrook is a typical "hero of weakness' along Schopenhauer lines and a prime example of Thomas Mann's "pessimistic

Musicians were perhaps even more influenced by Schopenhauer. In fact, no other philosopher is as revered by them. Music is more direct than language in conveying the "will" and true conditions in the world.

Martin Gregor-Dellin, Munich, drew attention to Schopenhauer's maxim that "music is the melody and the world the

Wagner found his ideas about music confirmed by Schopenhauer and adopted the philosopher's "metaphysics of will." Wagner, Gregor-Dellin told the con-

himself at last that the world was evil. Tristan and Isolde seek deliverance in death from the inanity of the world.

gress, was happy to be able to admit to

In his Parsifal, Wagner comes very close to Schopenhauer's ascetic solution.

Tar is the continuation of politics

VV by other means." There is hard-

ly another imaginable maxim whose

practical implications are more far-

reaching than this tenet of the military

For this reason and because of the ever

writer Carl von Clausewitz.

The philosopher's morality of compassion has had its particular impact on musicians because it is compassion ra-

> root of a composition. Gregor-Dellin cited Gustav Mahler, the "most committed Schopenhauer follower among musicians," who asked himself: "Why have you suffered? Is it

> > all just a horrible joke?"

As Mahler saw it, without answering these questions we cannot go on living nor can we go on dying.

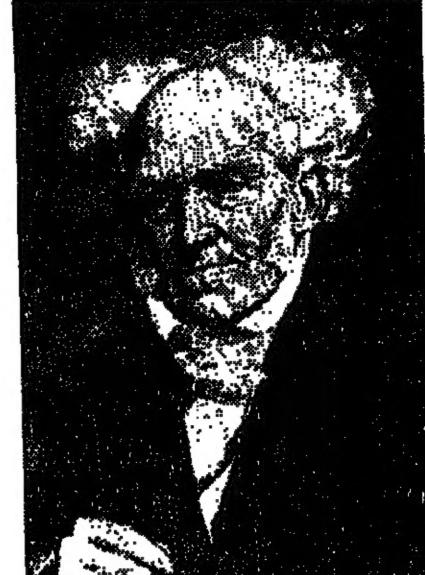
ther than "cold ecstasy" that is at the

Malder's own contribution was the "pure, ethereal sound," the calming of our inner drives.

Freny Mistry, an Indian woman, paid tribute to Schopenhauer for having introduced Buddhist ideas to the occident. He saw Buddhism as the confirmation of his philosophy of world-denial.

But the young Indian philosopher also stressed the differences. In her view, Schopenhauer did not lead to wisdom but to resignation. It was impossible, she said, to evolve from Schopenhauer an ethic by which to live.

Schopenhauer's philosophy, she said, was esoteric and meant only for insiders. This contention was rebutted by many



. set a vogue (Photos: Historia)

at the congress: businessmen, doctors and lawyers who loved their philosopher because he was so close to life and

At the end of the congress, the Society's president, Arthur Hübscher, who is now almost 85, presented "his legacy": The Schopenhauer Society is to continue as a "free circle of friends" based in Frankfurt and generously supported by

To study and disseminate Schopenhauer's philosophy, he said, can play a part in bringing more humanity to an

Wolfgang Schirmacher (Rheinische Post, 6 November 1981)

Objection to the

formula

present threat of war, the thesis of the (amous Prussian reformer has become the most quoted and discussed axiom among historians, politicians and the The 150th anniversary, on 16 No-

vember, of the death of the author of On War falls in a time in which war once the "sport of kings" - is only discussed in terms of ways and means of preventing it due to the mass destruction potential of modern weapons.

In some quarters the anniversary will raise the question as to the lasting significance and timeliness of the German military theoretician.

The objection to the Clausewitz formula in today's world is that a nuclear war can no longer be seen as the continuation of politics by other means.

And it is true that Clausewitz's book on war and warfare does not consider the possibility of eliminating all nations. For him, a war was decided by destroying the enemy's armed forces.

But the objection could be countered with the argument that the Clausewitz formula is timely because, after orgies of violence in two world wars, politics must naturally be given priority in the sense meant by Clausewitz; and war must remain politics "lest, it become pointless and devoid of meaning," as he himself put it.

The enormous growth of the destructive potential has given rise to a spirit of moderation because today the threat takes the place of action, and the deterrent that of decision.

But this, in turn, could be countered with the question: if the threat serves no other purpose than to prevent its imClausewitz



Carl von Clausewitz.. often quoted

plementation, does that not amount to the paradoxical question as to whether it is possible to live for ever on credit?

Many an interpreter of Clausewitz, for whom military considerations were subordinate to political reason, will naturally say: What should we pin our hopes on if not on reason?

It indeed appears to be the paradox of our era that the very possibility of mass destruction - even without an explicit threat - curtails the actual use of vio-

In retrospect, it can certainly be said that events of the past 150 years would have been less dominated by purely mi-

litary considertations if politicians in general had abided by the Clausewitz

A German general, Ewald Heinrich von Kleist-Schmenzin, said after the Second World War that the Clausewitz axiom to the effect that political factors are more important than military ones was too little heeded by the Germans in particular.

"The Germans made the mistake of thinking that political problems can be solved by military success. Under the Nazis, we were about to reverse the Clauswitz formula and view peace as a continuation of war."

Curiously, it is the military in particular who differ widely in their interpretations of Clausewitz's works. But this might be due to the fact that On War is ambiguous in some places.

Even 100 years after his death, the Clausewitz assessment of the difficulties in conquering Russia proved correct.

He said that Russia was not a country that could be conquered in "formal terms" and that it could only be defeated through internal strife.

Napoleon foundered in 1812 because, according to Clausewitz, "the enemy government remained firm and the people

Hitler did not even attempt to make use of the rudiments of internal disunity that had been caused by Stalinist repres-

Clausewitz's most important function in this century was that of the man who played a major role in shaping the Marxist-Leninist theory of war.

This is highlighted by the notes Lenin made on reading On War. They show that he studied this classic only in the light of his foremost objective: the proletarian world revolution.

Rudolf Grimm/dpa" (Mannhelmer Morgen, 12 November 1981)





Meticulously edited, it includes the three main manuscripts of the mediaeval epic and copious notes on textual varia-

But that is a mere drop in the ocean compared with the tons of secondary literature written mainly by specialists in Germanic studies to interpret it.

Writers who want to make any impact on this mountain in print must do more than add a few pieces to the mosaic; little short of an avalanche will hit the headlines.

Heinz Ritter, a local historian from Schaumburg, near Rinteln, says the experts have got the story all wrong. Schaumburg borders on Westphalia and it was there, he says, and not in Hungary that the Nibelungs met their doom.

This claim brings to mind the scores of retired teachers in days gone by who snent their declining years trying to prove that the battle in which Amninius defeated the Roman legions of Emperor Augustus took place in their back gar-

In Ritter's case the idea may be less fanciful. Roswitha Wisniewski, a professor of mediaeval German literature at Heldelberg University, feels his work merits serious consideration.

Die Nibelungen zogen nordwärts (The Nibelungs Headed North), his latest book, outlines the results of 20 years of research into the subject.

His aim is merely to identify the historical facts on which the tale is based. but if his theory gains general acceptance current assumptions on how the legend was built up might need revising.

The Nibelungenlied is by no means the only mediaeval epic to tell the tale of the Nibelungs. It was put to paper in about 1200, but the story is generally agreed to date back to the post-Roman migration era of the fifth and sixth centuries AD.

The unknown author of the Nibelungenlied combined two sagas of Franconian origin which, the experts are convinced, had led a separate existence for centuries.

They were the Brunhildlied and the Burgundensage. Views differ on whether the former was based on historical events, arguably at the court of the Merovingian kings.

It tells the tale of Siegfried and how he swaps roles to win the proud Brünhilde from King Gunther and how. when the deception comes to light, he is murdered by the king and his brothers.

The latter tells how Kriemhild, Sieg-'fried's widow, marries a King Etzel, who is generally taken to be Attila the Hun and entices her brothers to visit his court, where they are slaughtered to avenge her late husband.

The Burgundensage need not be taken literally. Attila died in 453, whereas Dietrich von Bern, or Theodoric the Great, king of the Ostrogoths, who is portrayed as living at Attila's court, was not born until three years later.

The saga is generally assumed to be an artistic combination of the defeat of the Burgundians and the death of their king, Gundahar, at the hands of the Huns in 436 and the death of Attila on his wedding night,

Attila died, probably of a burst blood vessel, in the night after his wedding to Hildico, a German princess, and the two tales are felt to have been interwoven,

Versions of both sagas have been handed down since the ninth century, so the Nibelungenlied can be seen to have evolved in a variety of complicated ways. Motives and characteristics continually

#### HERITAGE

# Historians 'wrong' about doom of the Nibelungs

THE GERMAN TRIBUNE

especially where Kriemhild Hagen and Attila are concerned.

Initially it was Attila who was keen to set hands on the treasure of the Nibelungs and cunningly invited them to visit him and Kriemhild who avenged their death.

In the Nibelungenlied Kriemhild is portrayed as a veritable Satan who persuades Attila to wage war and is generaly prepared to commit any misdeed.

Versions of the saga that go along these lines have only been preserved in Scandinavian or Icelandio guise. Their Central and Western European counterparts no longer exist,

In thirteenth-century Scandinavia heroic epics of old were particularly popular. In about 1250 the Thidrekssaga was compiled in Norway. It is a collection of tales about Dietrich von Bern (or Theodoric of Verona).

It includes, retold at intervals in the narrative, the same tale as the one told in the Nibelungenlied, but on a much more modest scale.

The Nibelungs are called Niflungs. They set out with 1,000 men, and not



Hagen statue in Worms . . . new ideas about the Nibelungs, (Photo: Historia)

10,000, as in the Nibelungenlied. Their target is not Hungary, the land of the Huns, but Soest, a town in Westphalia.

Their subsequent adversary is not Attila, lord of the Huns, but Attala, the son of a Frisian chieftain.

Experts are not wholly agreed on the origins of the Thidrekssaga. Some say both are based on the same source, a twelfth-century tale that has not sur-

Others feel the Thidrekssaga is a shorter version of the Nibelungenlied, transposed to fit into a Low German

In the saga the tale of the fall of the Nibelungs is said to have been told uniformly and independently by German travellers from Soest, Bremen and Mün-

Between them they had related the



story as they had learnt it from old songs in German.

Heinz Ritter's idea is that the Thidrekssaga faithfully retells what happened in sixth-century Westphalia, whereas the Nibelungenlied mistakenly takes the Niflungs to be the Burgundians.

In reality, he claims, the Nibelungs did not reside in Worms. They never crossed the Danube into the land of the Huns. They never fought Attila.

His argument is based on a remarkable discovery. On their way to the land of the Huns, the saga says, the Niflungs passed a point where the Duna flowed into the Rin, in other words, the confluence of the Rhine and the Danube.

Geographically the two rivers never meet, whereas Ritter has shown that until 1840 a river Dhun flowed into the Rhine north of Leverkusen, near Co-

The Dhun was then rerouted into the Wupper. If this part of the original tale makes sense after all, Ritter argues, the rest is worth taking another look at.

He set out on a voyage of discovery backed financially by the North Rhine-Westphalian Ministry of Science and Research. He compared names, checked distances and estimated times.

His conclusion is that the Nibelungs' castle must have been in Virnich, near Zölpich, in the northern Eifel hills. Their name is derived from a river, the Neffel,

Bechelaren Castle, called Bakalar in the Thidrekssaga, where Margrave Rüdiger lives is Burg Berge, near Altenburg in the Bergisches Land district.

Both of these places are not far from

King Thidrek, who lives in exile with Attala, is, at least as far as the section on the Nibelungs' catastrophe is concerned, not Theodoric the Great but the exiled king of an empire near Bonn.

Bonn was known until the Middle Ages as Bern, or Verona.

Ritter has even unearthed archaeological evidence in support of his theory. Graves have been found both in Zülpich and in Soest that prove both places to have been power centres in the post-Roman migration period.

In Soest there is the grave of a woman whose costly jewels include a brooch with a runic inscription that could, with a little good will, be read as

Could it be a parting gift from Attala to Kriemhild after he had had her executed as the instigator of the entire ca-

The final episode of the Thidrekssaga does not occur in the Nibelungenlied. It tells how Hagen sires a son on the eve of his death who avenges the Nibelungs.

He is bequeathed by Hagen the keys to Siegfried's cellar where the treasure of the Nibelungs is kept. He entices the avaricious Attala to go down into the cellar, locks him in and leaves him to die of hunger.

In 1926, in a rock cave 15 miles from Soest, the remains of a man who had died without being buried were discothe period in question. dating back to the days of the Trandpa tells

Years' War were also found Way Nibelungs' treasure discovered and ten down alongside Attala's corpse It remains to be seen whether the

perts will take Ritter seriously enough consider his theory more carefully. happened no coincidence that Professor niewski has called on them to do so She was a student of the Ni

specialist Helmut de Boor. In her fannoversite Aligemeine of the sources of the epic entitles fannoversite Aligemeine of the sources of the epic, entitled Darstellung des Niflungenunteren der Thidrekssaga, she tries to prove the saga drew on a source it de lesse school teacher is trying to share with the Nibelungenlied. Thing history to life for pupils by For anyone who is interested in page grandparents to talk in the class-

logical jigsaw puzzles she tells an guing story. It is that this other sale idea is the brainchild of Elizza came from the Soest area but, lite elest, a teacher at Christian Wirth common source, was based on an anischule (comprehensive) in Usinearlier text.

Ritter points out that there is a de is encouraging her teenage pupils dish version of the Thidrekssaga in their grandparents to come to the tion to the Norwegian one. It is should talk about specific events. and has in the past been dismissed he idea has attracted nation-wide late copy of the Norwegian venion. Lest including television coverage.

Ritter points out that source in began as an experiment, but has ences differ. The Norwegian version are officially part of the system beit is based on reports by men who has the response has been so favouseen the historical places in Sout bill

hall started by chance. Last May, the they were destroyed. The Swedish version says they as dealt with urban renewal. Frau unchanged and could still be sent isser decided on the spur of the that she should take the chiltheir original condition. Soest was largely rebuilt between to town and show them what re-

and 1180, so it seems reasonable to ml was all about. sume that the Swedish version may be 30 boys and girls were looking at earlier than the Norwegian one. It m-of-the-century townhouse when That would date it at around IM and lady emerged to sweep the steps.

40 years older than the Nibelunges 2: walked over and asked the teacher Could not the old tales to which the they wanted to see inside. ter refers be the main line of order for Erbstösser jumped at the opportion recorded in the Thidrekssage! In The old lady - it turned out that Has Heinz Ritter said the last was 86 and owned the house -

on the fall of the Nibelungs? It was a fountain of information. to be seen. Brünhild, Slegfried, Har bek in Usingen, the class wrote a Kriemhild, Gunther and Dietrich isk you note, and asked her whether Bern recur in many mediaeval tales. Would become an "honorary class Similarities with the Nibelung and admother". The idea was that she tive occur in other mediaeval epics. I and attend class from time to time to

even where a historic person is named questions. the narrative need not be based on the old lady, Gertrud Rösler-Erhardt,

The name may simply have been use the first topic of discussion was to convey an impression of accuracy, bool in the old days" and was meant personalise a myth. That may be with part of the history lesson, which the characteristics of people wish with the dismissal of Bismarck.

names recur continually change. This does not, of course, rule out possibility of one or other of the Rall of Germany's ten million schoolsions that have survived being based at children, should get practical job

a historic occurrence. People in the Middle Ages did rezow of the Interior Ministry. draw a clear distinction between fact that Granzow deplotes the fact that fiction. The writer of the Nibelungent training is obligatory only for stuwill have had no intention of with at comprehensive schools and history textbook, wischule (secondary school preparing

All he will have had in mind white trades) but not for other secondtell tales dating back to the post-Raminchool students. migration period in a manner substitution with practical work in must not become a characteristic

It remains to be seen how true of the Thidrekssaga too.

A study prepared by a research team The Nibelungs' journey from Work A study prepared by a research team to Esztergom via Pochlam and View Dortmund University shows that study prepared by a research team to Esztergom via Pochlam and View Dortmund University shows that study prepared by a research team to Esztergom via Pochlam and View Dortmund University shows that study prepared by a research team to Esztergom via Pochlam and View Dortmund University shows that study prepared by a research team to Esztergom via Pochlam and View Dortmund University shows that study prepared by a research team to Esztergom via Pochlam and View Dortmund University shows that study prepared by a research team to Esztergom via Pochlam and View Dortmund University shows that study prepared by a research team to Esztergom via Pochlam and View Dortmund University shows that study prepared by a research team to Esztergom via Pochlam and View Dortmund University shows that study parents, teachers and the business that study prepared by a research team to Esztergom via Pochlam and View Dortmund University shows that study prepared by a research team to Esztergom via Pochlam and View Dortmund University shows that study prepared by a research team to Esztergom via Pochlam and View Pochlam a

was authentic. but those who took part in such Might it not be the case that bining showed signs of disappointment North Germans who related the the end of it. The firms that underhad introduced Westphalian geographics to train students felt that they into the narrative to make it more left to fend for themselves and the "Indents themselves spoke of lack of resting for their listeners? So there are still many question to look (25 per cent).

answered and loose ends to be tief the survey also showed shortcomings But whatever the results, the expense implementation and evaluation of tailes Continued on page 13

In the meantime, word about the new approach spread among the parents and one day, when Frau Rösler-Erhardt was in class again, she found to her delight that there were 22 other grandparents willing to relate some of their accumulated wealth of knowledge and experi-

The students were told that, until the outbreak of World War I, priests could draw up school curriculas as they saw fit.

teachers who inspected fingernails and punished those who did not come up to scratch by coming them on the hand. They also learned of the long autumn holidays so the children help harvest po-

"And you put up with it?" the children wanted to know. The answer from the old people was: "You can hardly imagine how things were back in those

The idea behind the project is that children should be able to imagine how

The next topic on the agenda was entire way of life.

deal with the Weimar Republic and the grandparents will be asked to tell the children how they coped with the economic crisis then.

such specific things as what people ate at Christmas, what presents they gave. whether special poems were recited and how the people coped with inflation."

ioned Christmas biscuits while grandfathers will describe how they de-

The subject scheduled for January is the Third Reich.

Just before the children are due to graduate, the parents will also be invited to enable three generations to discuss the effects the programme has had on the students' appreciation of history.

Elizza Erbstösser is confident: ` children have come to realise that h tory is not something abstract but involves lives and destinies. They no longer yawn."

(Hannoversche Aligemeine, 11 November 1981)

They were told about cane-wielding

World War I, when the grandparents told the class how they had to struggle for food and how the war changed an

Just before Christmas, the class will

Elizza Erbstösser: "We'll deal with

The grandmothers will bake old-fashcorated the home.

# Opinions vary on role of the teacher

Parents and teachers see eye to eye I on most issues. But not on what should be a teacher's most important function, according to a study prepared by the Institute for Teacher Training in

The survey involved 296 teachers at 12 Rhineland-Palatinate schools and 5,673 parents.

"What do you consider a particularly important function of the teacher?" was one of the questions. Three answers were possible: Conveying knowledge and skills; helping develop the personality; or accurate assessment of a child's per-

Close to 60 per cent of the teachers ticked "helping develop the personality". "Accurate assessment" was the least important (10 per cent).

The parents' answers were exactly the opposite: 41.1 per cent ticked "Accurate assessment". "Helping develop the personality" was at the bottom with 15 per

A similar difference became evident with the question as to the most important qualities of a teacher where there were 19 possible answers to choose from.

The most prevalent answer among teachers was "teaching ability" while the parents again opted for "justice"; though in this case, justice ranked second with the teachers.

The study concludes that there is a "conflict of roles between teachers and

Continued from page 12

should be a little ashamed of them-

While they have studied the sources and the vocabulary and examined the Nibelungenlied in all manner of ways, including computer concordances, one man, an amateur, has shown the courage of his convictions, spent 20 years studying the subject in his own way and come up with some really new ideas.

Ekkehard Böhm (Hannoversche Aligemeine, 13 November 1981)

# More practical training urged

The companies complained that they were given no advice on what exactly to do with the students during the three or four weeks of on-the-job training.

Only 22 per cent of the respondents secondary school students," says among the business community had training schedules, of which 62 per cent were devised by the companies them-

The biggest shortcoming, however, lay in the fact that most students were inadequately prepared for such practical

Sixty-nine per cent of the respondents in the business community complained about the students lack of knowledge about the various occupations and 65 per cent deplored the lack of familiarity

Another major shortcoming was that

most teachers were unfamiliar with the realities of work in a business enterprise because they themselves had no first hand experience of it.

But despite all these complaints, very few of those concerned would like to drop on-the-job training; 79 per cent of the parents, 87 per cent of current and 60 per cent of former Hauptschule students even asked for longer practical training courses.

rejected any scrapping or shortening of the

The value of such training is demonstrated by the fact that parents and former students say that on the job experience ranks second only to instruction in mathematics and German, They consider on-the-job training as an important element of preparation for a working life.

In addition, practical training plays an important role in finding a job.

A further survey shows that every other traince winds up with a permanent job at the company that trained him.

(Westdaytsche Allgemeine, 11 November 1981)

parents that must be discussed and

One interesting aspect that transpired was that 58 per cent of the parents who wanted to have an active part in the upbringing of their children rather than leaving it to the school belonged to the working class. (Die Welt, 6 November 1981)

### Purging fears through painting

Children can rid themselves of their Conscious and unconscious fears by expressing them in paintings and draw-

Those who are denied an opportunity to express themselves can harm not only themselves, but their environment as well, says Hanna Over, 36, who has opened northern Germany's first studio

for expressive painting. All children should be given an opportunity to express themselves picto-

rially, she says. The child sees the painting studio as "a room sealed off from the rest of the world, a protective cave, so to speak,'

says Frau Over. The studio enables the children to enjoy what they are doing undisturbed by

outside influences. The idea of expressive painting was first evolved by the Frenchman Arno Stern, who, after the Second World War. took meandering children to his studio and made them paint and express themselves as a way of mastering the chaos and destruction of the war and post-war

Hanna Over herself became a student Stern disciple Bettina Eggers in whose Zurich studio she did a two-year

training course. Frau Over, herself the mother of three children, does not interfere with her charges' flow of expression. She does not tell them what they should paint but only asks them what they would like to

In this way, the children learn to pick their own subjects. Once a picture is finished, Frau Over does not evaluate it because any praise or criticism would only hamper free expression and possibly make the child seek the teacher's

"I rejoice in the children's work along with them instead of smothering them

with praise," says Frau Over. .... Each child's paintings are collected in Ninety-three per cent of the students a special folder "as a protection for the child" because the pictures are part of the child itself and should therefore not be put up on walls by the parents.

Frau Over also refuses to interpret the ictures. She will never ask a child "what are you painting?" Children are unable to express in

words what flows pictorially. Adults frequently regard children's paintings as worthless because the child unable to lecture coherently on his

But if adults themselves were to take painting they would soon realise that this form of expression is an "adven-

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 9 November 1981)

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